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The Shape of Things

WE LEAVE IT TO THE REPUBLICANS TO PROBE the President's motives in calling a special session of Congress. These may be as crassly political as charged, but the fact remains that the Eightieth Congress recessed in a shocking state of disorganization, leaving the country without desperately needed legislation. The circumstances of the President's announcement—a partisan convention in the small hours of the morning—have not unreasonably offended the sensibilities of some who, like Walter Lippmann, see in his action only a desire to "give a kick and a punch to his own personal campaign for election." Even granting the validity of the accusation, we have here an instance of a self-interested motive coinciding with the common good. We are not so squeamish as to think that the second must be disregarded because of the existence of the first. A housing bill is sorely needed, and the rapid spiral of prices is surely an emergency that should not wait until next January for attention. The United Nations loan should be hurried through if our international good faith is not to be compromised. If the Republicans carry out the threat made by one of their leaders to adjourn immediately on hearing the President's message, they will surely have convicted themselves of a political irresponsibility far graver than Mr. Truman's.

*

THE PALESTINE TRUCE HAS DISTRACTED attention from the maneuvers that preceded it. For this, Mr. Truman must be grateful, since the behavior of the State Department, both in the United Nations and at Philadelphia, has exposed the hiatus between the policy actually being pursued and the fine words of the Democratic platform. Agents of the department did their best to prevent a decent plank on Palestine, and to this the President submitted, declining even to promise full recognition of Israel or the lifting of the arms embargo while there was still time. Only the most energetic efforts of a handful of liberals, including Representative Celler, Mayor Humphrey, and Senator Mitchell, prevented the adoption of the feeble compromise plank agreed upon by the State Department and Mr. Truman. The fact is that, though Loy Henderson is no longer head of the Near Eastern Division, his hand still directs American policy in Palestine. His legacy to Mr. Truman was the American resolution in the Security Council reintroducing the arms embargo, an action designed to convince the public that the platform promise was as empty as wind. Informed persons are also aware that the State Department joined the British in backing Count Bernadotte's attempt to sabotage partition and substitute a "Bevin solution." For these reasons, the truce cannot be taken as simply the "U. N. triumph" the newspapers are extolling. Even a temporary end of the fighting must be welcomed, but nothing that has happened in Washington gives us reason to believe that a decent settlement is in sight. If this interlude is used to advance the plans of the State Department and Foreign Office—as was the first truce—the cause of justice will have lost more than it has gained. Even now, Americans are forced to ask themselves the question: Who directs our foreign policy—the President or the Henderson clique? No platform declaration will provide an answer; only Mr. Truman himself can do that, by taking the action called for by the situation and reflected in the platform.

*

EVERYTHING CONSIDERED, BIRMINGHAM'S rump convention was all to the good. If the "Dixiecrats" can carry out their threat to split the South, the net result will be that Southern voters will at least have a choice between a more or less mature party and that declining group of demagogues whose political stock in trade has been the appeal to prejudice. Sooner or later, the break had to come, and the Democratic Party can probably afford it better this year than in a campaign with likelier prospects of success. On the other hand, if the Thurmond-Wright ticket proves a fiasco, the Southerners, as Robert Bendiner indicates in his dispatch on page 91, will have lost forever their power to intimidate the rest of the party. Dispatches from Birmingham point to fiasco rather than the launching of a genuine party. Aside from Alabama and Mississippi, which were pledged to oppose President Truman in any event, no other states were impressively represented. The hall was filled by the simple device of accrediting anyone who chose to attend, whether he had a genuine following in his home state or merely happened to be traveling through Birmingham last Saturday and felt like hearing Southern-fried oratory. The ultimate result is that Tru-

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Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
European Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
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Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
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Business & Advertising Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

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man will probably lose twenty electoral votes that were already written off the books and, more seriously, that the Southerners will tighten their lines in Congress. Here they might be a real menace, not only by blocking civil-rights legislation in the special session, but by using their seniority on committees to bring the Northerners into line. Should they ever really band together, they would have the status of the minority party in Congress —in which case, the orthodox Democrats, fewer in number, would have to go to them, hat in hand, for committee appointments. But invoking the name of Robert E. Lee has not yet been enough to effect that kind of solidarity.

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SERIOUS DEFECTIONS HAVE BEGUN TO OCCUR in the Wallace movement in the West. Four prominent leaders of the New Party in New Mexico have threatened to withdraw unless Mr. Wallace clearly repudiates the support of the Communists. A battle royal took place at the state convention in Denver between the "liberal but non-Communist" elements and the Communists headed by Arthur Bary, state chairman of the Communist Party. In the melee, Bary found himself forced to purge one of the party's veteran leaders, who refused to follow orders to infiltrate the Wallace group. The net result of the affair, however, is that the New Party elected an almost complete right-wing delegation to the forthcoming national convention. It is no secret that Charles Graham, outstanding Colorado liberal leader, has become disaffected by the antics of the left wing and their familiar steam-roller tactics. At the first Nevada state convention in Reno, George Springmeyer, the convention chairman, resigned when the third-party delegates refused to take a stand against communism. In South Dakota, the Progressive Political Alliance, made up of Farmers' Union locals and labor groups, has just come out against the Wallace movement as "detrimental to the cause of true liberalism." But more significant perhaps is the fact that the left-wing section of the C. I. O. in San Francisco has formally requested Francis McTernan, third-party candidate for Congress, to drop out of the race so that local labor groups can unite behind Franck Havenner, a liberal Democrat.

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SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS IS NOT ONLY A GOOD planner for the British economy; he has contributed a needed word to the English language. "Disinflation," he announces, is making welcome headway in the internal market. Disinflation is to deflation what letting the excess air of an overinflated tire is to a puncture which stops the car. In England at present it is shown in the development of a buyers' market for certain consumers' goods like electrical appliances, radios, some kinds of clothing, leather goods, luxury food and drink, meals at expensive

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restaurants, movies, and the theater. This reduction of consumers' demand is a calculated effect of the government's fiscal policy, which is designed to restrict domestic consumption of non-essentials. Any saving of labor or goods made in this way will permit a roughly corresponding enlargement of the exports which are required to buy food and raw materials or an increase in the equipment for production, which must be expanded with the greatest possible rapidity. Internal inflation in Britain has also been dangerous because it tended to raise the price of exports and hence to restrict the demand for them. If disinflation threatened to go so far as to turn into deflation, the tendency could be promptly checked by a lowering of the high taxes which induced it. Real deflation could come to the planned British economy only through a collapse in the United States and the rest of the world which would injure British export markets. Disinflation in the prices of the foods and materials Britain has to buy from us—though Cripps did not say this—would help not only Britain but American consumers.

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THE CONFUSION OF HARASSED CONSUMERS was recently increased when, immediately after the announcement of bumper grain crops to be harvested this year, the prices of meat rose again, to unheard-of levels. The situation, so far as we can unravel it, is as follows. The corn crop for 1947 was extremely short on account of bad weather. The wheat crop was none too good either, and European production was unusually low. The resulting high prices of grains discouraged the feeding of meat animals for future consumption, while the high prices of meat led to the marketing of "unfinished" steers. The prices of feed are now due for a drop, but it will take time to breed the little pigs and feed them with the corn that is now about to come to market. It will take even longer to increase the beef supply. In 1949, meat will be somewhat more abundant and probably cheaper. Even milk may go down. But there is no visible prospect that crop prices will be cut in half, as they were during the post-war deflation of 1920-22. They are still subject to government support under the "parity" price program. Support prices are somewhat lower than the recent quotations of grain, but "parity" rises with every rise in the prices of industrial goods. The heat which has been turned on to food consumers will not last forever, but the relief will be a pleasant zephyr rather than a cold wave. Meanwhile, in the absence of rationing and price control, those who can least afford to buy suffer most from the shortage.

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THE CANWELL COMMITTEE, A "JOINT Legislative Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities" patterned after the Tenney committee in California, is now conducting a thoroughgoing witch-hunt at the University of Washington. Dozens of faculty members have been visited by investigators who have asked them to inform against their colleagues. Lists of "suspects," including any number of mild liberals, have been shown to them, and they have been grilled about the persons named. They have also been questioned about their own activities—the petitions they have signed, the meetings they have attended, the speeches they have made, and their organizational affiliations. Students, too, have been interviewed, and the rumor is current that agents have been planted in classrooms. Many faculty members, among them men of the highest academic standing, have been subpoenaed for formal hearings, scheduled for late July. The faculty is united in opposition to this serious attack on academic freedom, and it is hoped that President Raymond B. Allen will support it.

✶

THE WORKERS AT THE DI GIORGIO RANCH in California, whose strike is nearly a year old, (see *The Nation* of February 8) have now been handcuffed by a court injunction. Judge Peirson M. Hall, sitting in Fresno, has granted the NLRB an injunction which restrains all activities relating to the secondary boycott that the union was seeking to impose and restricts picketing to the ranch property itself. Judge Hall's ruling points up the special viciousness of the Taft-Hartley act as it relates to agricultural workers. For the striking union, being composed of farm workers, could not have obtained certification under the act; yet despite this fact, the act has been successfully invoked to prohibit strike activities. The decision merely underscores the fact that agricultural workers are, indeed, "the forgotten men" in our scheme of social legislation.

What Wallace Can Do

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

HENRY WALLACE may be pleased with the results of the Democratic convention. Although Mr. Truman's last-moment show of spirit partly redeemed the dismal transactions of the preceding days and even offered the party a chance of revival, the evidences of disintegration are overwhelming. At best, Truman and Barkley make an uninspiring team; the split in the party, already wide, was opened still farther by the strong civil-rights plank and by the President's demand for legislation to translate it into action; while the unsuccessful, fumbling efforts of the liberal wing and the big-city bosses to combine on a candidate to oppose Mr. Truman left both groups weakened and largely discredited.

Taken all in all, the Democratic leaders displayed most of the characteristics of the Gadarene swine. If the party is to be saved from suicide, it will be only

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by a miracle of steady boldness on the part of the President such as he has given us no reason whatever to expect. Contemplating these facts, Mr. Wallace may well decide that his New Party has found added justification for its existence as well as improved prospects.

This is the way a man with a newborn third party on his hands would be bound to argue. But to do so would be to delude himself—at least in part. For the outcome at Philadelphia is more likely to sterilize the remaining progressive elements in the Democratic ranks than to stampede them into the Wallace compound. Liberal Democrats and independents who reject Truman are now men and women without a party—and with a vote that weights heavily on their conscience. Many in the end will vote for Truman, if only by default. Many will refuse to vote. Most of them believed, and still believe, that the best hope for 1948 lay in an effort to take the Democratic Party away from the time-serving mediocrities who have gained control under Harry Truman. They believed, and still believe, that Wallace's bolt temporarily wrecked their chance of success. And they objected from the start to the obtrusive presence of Communists in the New Party's top command. Wallace, in turn, deprived of the broad labor-New Deal backing his movement needed if it was to have any continuing vitality or political meaning, inevitably leaned more heavily on his energetic party-line supporters, whose major role bears no relation either to their numbers and importance in the community or to the candidate's real political ambitions.

The result has been a movement made up of disparate elements, with no mass base in labor or anywhere else, divorced from the remaining New Dealers in Wallace's former party and from most of the "floating" progressive vote. The New Party is certainly strong enough to insure Republican victory in close districts, but it remains incapable of uniting independent progressives behind Wallace. The nomination of Truman and Barkley and the disruption of the Democratic machine will not by themselves alter this fact. Only a new strategy on the part of Wallace could alter it.

IF WALLACE had been willing to pull out of the race at the moment, now past, when Truman's weakness was most apparent, and had offered to support William O. Douglas or some other liberal candidate on terms which he could then have largely dictated, he might have played a leading role in remaking the Democratic Party. He did not do so, and now it is too late. Harry Truman is the candidate, and Wallace has said he would not, under any circumstances, quit the race. A chance was lost, and it will not come again.

But there is one thing Wallace can still do to compensate for his failure to use his power shrewdly and in time. He can still repudiate Communist direction in the New Party and propose a common slate with Democrats or Republicans in support of progressive Congressional candidates.

This would not be an easy move. First of all, Wallace would go a long way to avoid being called a "red-baiter"; to break with the Communists without running that risk is impossible. Secondly, a break would dislocate the New Party organization just at the start of the campaign, depriving it of indefatigable workers. On the other hand, many signs indicate a growing tension between the non-Communists in the Wallace leadership and those who follow the party line. An editorial note on page 86 cites a few recent defections in the West among Wallace's important liberal backers. On the Communist side, the stiffer policy toward non-Communists and deviations within the party ranks revealed by events in Yugoslavia suggests that the American comrades may soon be driven to provoke a showdown in the New Party. Perhaps the new policy is even now having its effect, in spite of Comrade Gerson's benevolent and possessive remarks about the third-party movement last week. If so, Henry Wallace's recent prediction that if the Communists should decide to run their own tickets he would lose about a hundred thousand votes and gain three million may have had more significance than appeared at the time he made the statement.

This much is sure: if Wallace could find the occasion and muster the courage to drop off his Communist pilots, he would be able to play a very different role in the coming campaign and one closer to his own political desires. For Henry Wallace is essentially a Middle Western populist—no more a Communist than Tom Dewey or Harry Truman. Even his urgent advocacy of talks with Russia is in the liberal American tradition—except when the phrasing is left to his party-line ghost writers.

Freed from the Communist embrace, pledged to indorse progressives running for Congress, Wallace could undo a large part of the damage done by his third-party campaign. And he could offer dissident liberals, now adrift, a chance to cast a protest vote that would not be at the same time a vote for the Communist and the Republican parties. By providing at least a temporary asylum for displaced Democrats and other political refugees, the New Party candiate might easily expand his vote by more than the three million he suggested.

In his farewell to the *New Republic* last week, Mr. Wallace rejected both the "narrow sectarian approaches" of "various Marxist groups" and the red-baiting opposition. He firmly denied that the New Party could be artificially split on "some doctrinaire basis." What this means in terms of strategy may be revealed this week as his cohorts meet in Philadelphia. Progressives in and out of the Democratic ranks will watch carefully for signs indicating which tack the New Party will take when the anchors are weighed.

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A Victory for Censorship

JUST as this issue goes to press, we learn, not from the Board of Superintendents, but from a friendly newspaper, that the ban against *The Nation* has been sustained by the unanimous decision of the board. Thus, in the same undemocratic manner in which the original action was taken, *The Nation* is sentenced behind its back; even a convicted criminal hears the verdict against him before it is published to the world.

¶ By this new decision, the Board of Superintendents reaffirms its earlier act of censorship, and, in doing so, rejects out of hand the demand for an open hearing made by *The Nation* and all the organizations which appeared with us at the closed meeting last week.

¶ We indignantly protest this latest arbitrary action and call upon all progressive organizations to do the same. *The Nation* has filed a petition with the Commissioner of Education at Albany, requesting a rescinding of the ban. The Ad Hoc committee formed on June 30 to fight the ban is demanding a hearing before Mayor O'Dwyer. The case must not be allowed to drop; it involves issues of freedom which touch the rights of all citizens.

THE techniques of suppression are many and varied. Illustrative of this is the difference in procedure, tone and content of the hearings on the banning of *The Nation* in Newark last February and in Brooklyn last week. Where Newark was a public vilification of *The Nation* and Paul Blanshard, the hearing staged by Dr. William Jansen and the Board of Superintendents of New York City was a model of cloistered and icy decorum.

Choosing the hush technique, the board decided to make the meeting a closed one, with only those groups represented that had been duly accredited by virtue of formal advance application. *The Nation* received less than twenty-four hours' notice that the meeting was to be closed, but fortunately the news came during a pre-hearing conference of organizations planning to appear before the board. Members of the Ad Hoc committee as well as cooperating organizations were notified, and many of them immediately sent telegrams to the board, signifying their intention of making a statement at the hearing. When Dr. Jansen looked around the spacious, air-conditioned board room at ten o'clock on the morning of July 13, his first comment was to express surprise at the number of people present.

The secretary to the board had made a perfunctory effort to exclude the uninvited, but after hurried words with his superiors, he ushered in all those present except the reporters and the public stenographer brought along by *The Nation's* editor on advice of counsel. The proceedings, the secretary said, would be taken down on the board's wire recorder.

Soon after the hearing got under way, Dr. Jansen unexpectedly interrupted Miss Kirchwey and polled the board. Each member solemnly announced that there had been no pressure brought upon him by the Roman Catholic church as a body, by Catholic fraternal or social societies, or by individual Catholics. This strange process would seem to indicate some concern on Dr. Jansen's part regarding public opinion in this city. That the board has, in fact, done the church an injury by the ban, solicited or not, is a point well made by Dr. Bryn J. Hovde in his letter on page 110.

The board is particularly vulnerable in another respect: the secrecy with which it voted to exclude *The Nation* from the school libraries, and the fact that it would never presumably have announced the ban if the secret had not leaked. Criticism of this evasiveness was met with silence

The Stop Censorship Committee presented the following statement to the Board of Superintendents. It was made by Burgess Meredith during the debate on the recently proposed—and defeated—Cunningham bill:

"On November 24, 1644, the poet, John Milton, addressed these words to the Parliament of England: '. . . as good almost to kill a man as kill a good book—who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image, but he who destroys a good book kills reason itself . . . kills the image of God—as it were—in the eye.'

"We declare ourselves guardians of the wisdom of the blind poet, Milton. Art, science, and philosophy—'the breath of the reason itself'—is our heritage. We announce our faith in liberty and our determination to fight for respect for the individual and his freedom to develop and express his creativity to the full.

"Throughout the ages, pigmy men have tried in vain by use of the cup of hemlock, the arena of wild animals, the stake, the rack and screw, the branding iron, the guillotine, the dungeon, the firing squad, and the crematorium to close men's mouths, stay their hands, shut tight their minds. The pigmies are the nameless of the shadows of history. Modern inquisitors, do you know the name Socrates? They censored him! Have you heard of Michelangelo, of Galileo, da Vinci, Dante, Beethoven, Molière, Balzac, Zola, Goya, Rousseau, Paine, Cervantes, Ibsen, Whitman, Thoreau, Emerson, Darwin? These men were censored!

"Can you name their inquisitors? Can you name the un-something committee on which they served?"

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from the superintendents, but when the merits of the ban *per se* were challenged by *The Nation's* editor, Dr. Jansen and another member of the board were quick to open fire. Refusing to admit that the Blanshard articles were not attacks upon faith but legitimate discussion of the church's position in matters of secular concern, Dr. Jansen seemed most irritated by the articles on Roman Catholic "science" and superstition. These, he maintained, were discussion of religious faith, and should not be made available to school children. He tried to get each speaker to concede that articles suitable for adults might have no place on the shelves of a school library. David K. Berninghausen of the Committee on Intellectual Freedom of the American Library Association refused to admit a distinction between a school library and any other public library. Dr. Jansen's persistent questioning of the speakers impelled some of them to take an even more advanced position in their extemporaneous answers than they had in their prepared statements. In one such reply, a teacher in the New York schools pointed out that the ban of *The Nation* logically forced the city to ban from its schools or radically to rewrite every textbook dealing with the Protestant Reformation. At this point, the subject was changed.

The meeting came to an end with no real conclusion; Dr. Jansen told the reporters that he had no comment to make, that the board would await written versions of certain of the extemporaneous statements, and that "the matter [would] be considered." Then everyone went home. If the ultimate decision is not reversed, *The Nation* and the Ad Hoc committee will fight on until the ban is rescinded. Censorship, as Dr. Melby points out at the bottom of this column, is a perfidious blight. Already, it has spread from Newark to New York to Massachusetts—for last Friday it was announced that the director of eight Massachusetts teachers colleges, taking heart from the example set for him in New York, had banned *The Nation* from the schools he supervises because he had "read in newspapers" that the Blanshard articles were "anti-Catholic." Thus censorship proceeds, whether by sectarian pressure, as in Newark, or by the hypersensitive reaction of timid educators, as in New York. And where it goes, goes ignorance.

The primary question at this time is not the content of the articles or defense of *The Nation* as a magazine. But if boards of education begin to ban books and magazines because part of their contents hurts the feelings of some group in the community, that policy will pave the way for ultimate banning of a large proportion of the books and journals in our school library, and seriously interfere with the freedom of our children to study the problems of our society.—DR. ERNEST O. MELBY, dean of the School of Education of New York University, appearing for the Public Education Association before the Board of Superintendents.

Ad Hoc Committee to Fight the Ban

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH, *Chairman*

LOUIS ADAMIC
SAMUEL HOPKINS ADAMS
WADE CRAWFORD BARCLAY
WILLIAM ROSE BENET
LEONARD BERNSTEIN
GEORGE BIDDLE
HENRY SEIDEL CANBY
CASS CANFIELD
J. M. DAWSON
DALE DEWITT
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LEWIS GANNETT
JAMES E. GREER
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BRYN J. HOVDE
FANNIE HURST
ALVIN JOHNSON
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MAX LERNER
ROBERT S. LYND
MARSHALL MACDUFFIE
JOHN A. MACKAY
RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
G. BROMLEY OXNAM
EDWARD L. PARSONS
ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
GUY EMERY SHIPLER
LILLIAN SMITH
ALBERT SPALDING
REX STOUT
CLARENCE K. STREIT
J. RAYMOND WALSH
W. L. WHITE

American Civil Liberties Union, American Jewish Congress, American Veterans Committee—Metropolitan Area Council, Authors' League, Council Against Intolerance, Council for Democracy, Lawyers' Guild—New York Chapter, Protestants and Other Americans United for the Separation of Church and State, Stop Censorship Committee, Teachers' Guild, Teachers' Union, Voice of Freedom Committee.

United Front

Statements in opposition to the ban imposed on *The Nation* were made at the closed hearing of the Board of Superintendents on July 13 by the following individuals, speaking for their organizations:

DANIEL ALLEN, New York Labor Committee for Wallace
HAROLD BAER, Liberal Party Executive Committee
ADELAIDE BEAN, Stop Censorship Committee
RALPH BENNETT, American Veterans Committee, Metropolitan Area Council
DAVID K. BERNINGHAUSEN, American Library Association, Committee on Intellectual Freedom
EVELYN F. BURKEY, Authors' League
NATHAN FRANKEL, Lawyers' Guild, New York Chapter
SYLVIA GATES, Communist Party
HENRY T. HILLSON, Teachers' Guild
FREDA KIRCHWEY, *The Nation*
EDGAR LOVE, Methodist Federation for Social Service
BERTHA MARKS, United Parents' Association
WILL MASLOW, American Jewish Congress, Commission on Law and Social Action
DR. ERNEST O. MELBY, Public Education Association
ROSE RUSSELL, Teachers' Union
ARTHUR SCHUTZER, American Labor Party
OSCAR SEAGER, American Jewish Committee
R. LAWRENCE SIEGEL, American Civil Liberties Union
JAMES WATERMAN WISE, Council Against Intolerance

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Rout of the Bourbons

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Philadelphia, July 15

THE death of the Democratic Party has been postponed, due to circumstances beyond the control of its leaders. For two days it looked as though they would have their way and the party would expire in a final spasm of fatuousness, complicated by acute melancholy. But on the third and last day of the convention the patient leaped out of bed, assaulted the doctors, and showed other signs of vitality unbecoming to those *in extremis*. By a miracle the Democrats, supposedly doomed to fade out in a whimper, emerged with the most challenging platform in the history of the major parties, a historic rout of the Confederate statesmen who have long been a millstone around its neck, and a candidate who, however unwelcome he may have been, has already sparked the campaign and carried the fight to the enemy.

Until the developments of Wednesday the picture here was all black. What had once been a reasonable attempt to supplant the President with a likelier nominee had turned into a frantic effort to kidnap anyone for the job who would say yes, as long as his name wasn't Harry S. Truman. The orators who droned on endlessly in the soupy Convention Hall never mentioned that name if they could possibly help it, and when they did, the reference was rarely good for more than three scattered handclaps. With Supreme Court Justice Douglas's final renunciation, following General Eisenhower's, an air of sullen resignation settled over the gathering. Anti-Truman jokes were more common than Truman buttons, and in Convention Hall signs appeared reading "We're just Mild About Harry." But the diehards continued to explode intermittently. A curious and short-lived boom was engineered for Senator Claude Pepper, notable only because it had the tacit support of Jack Kroll, leader of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee. Pepper had been almost as sour on the Marshall Plan as Glen Taylor, even though he finally voted for it. More revealing, he had recently proposed that his party not only hand the nomination to General Eisenhower but let him write his own platform, run the convention, and in general lay down the law—all without prior revelation as to where he stood on a single issue of the day.

Psychologically more significant was the spontaneous demonstration for Senator Alben Barkley on Monday night. The keynote address is not generally the signal for an emotional outburst, and Barkley's words, though intelligent, were hardly calculated to set the delegates aglow. Yet there is little doubt that had it been mechanically possible, they would have made the seventy-year-old party wheelhorse their Presidential nominee on the spot. Signs reading "Barkley for Vice-President" appeared in various parts of the hall with the word "vice" crudely crossed out. "My Old Kentucky Home" was good for a half-dozen renditions, and state banners were brought to the platform for the great man to touch. Here was no instance of a young Bryan firing the spirits of the delegates, but rather of a convention desperate for a miracle that would give them a new leader—any new leader. The best they could do was to insure Barkley's selection for second place on the ticket over the known objections of the President.

Senator Barkley at Philadelphia

In this depressing atmosphere there were only two spots in which political life still seemed to be pulsating—the top floor of the Bellevue, where the preliminary battle of the platform was fought, and a fraternity house near Convention Hall which had been taken over by Americans for Democratic Action. The first was the scene of a fifteen-hour struggle in which an originally flabby program was hammered into a good one except for one vital plank—the most important in the platform. The second was headquarters for the forces that were to turn

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that plank into a rallying point for progressives, perhaps save the great Northern cities for the Democrats, and either drive the mint-julep faction out of the party or put an end to its blackmail once and for all.

The evolution of the civil-rights plank was clearly the high point of the convention. Originally the hope was to satisfy nobody and offend nobody—a sure-fire prescription for campaign apathy. If the vapory civil-rights plank of 1944 was good enough for Roosevelt, the party leaders reasoned, it should be good enough for the Negroes of the party today and for the survivors of the New Deal, concentrated in the C. I. O. caucus and the A. D. A. Forgotten in this static approach was the fact that the head of the party and the man it was about to nominate had taken his stand for sweeping legislation in the field of civil liberties; that to ignore this stand was to repudiate the President in the one effort that might be a monument to his Administration. Had the compromisers prevailed, it is virtually certain that the last shreds of liberal support would have fallen away.

The point is important not because of the possible effect at the polls—the odds against the Democrats are still woefully long—but because the fate of the party hung in the balance. The reconstruction after November would either be left to the Southern Democrats or it would be put in the hands of the progressives—not the tired memoir-writing New Dealers but young leaders pushing up through the ranks. This is why there is so little sense in the wailing of some commentators that the Southern bolt was "needless" and could have been avoided. It could have been avoided, of course, but the party would have doomed itself to a lingering death.

When the Resolutions Committee completed its task on Tuesday night, nothing seemed less likely than the chance that its work would be drastically revised on the floor of the convention. Hubert Humphrey, the Mayor of Minneapolis, and Andrew Biemiller, former Representative from Wisconsin, were bearish on such prospects. Both A. D. A. men, they had put up a hard fight in the committee to have the platform spell out the specific reforms called for in the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, but they had enjoyed only negligible support. Senator Myers of Pennsylvania, the chairman, had received White House assurances that the President would be satisfied with the vague plank originally drawn up, and heavy pressure was put on Humphrey to confine himself to a token fight. Resolutions committees have from time to time been challenged on the floor of conventions, but rarely have they been beaten.

It was here that the A. D. A. stepped into the picture and incidentally assured itself a strategic role in party affairs should it elect to go along with the ticket when its board meets again in August. At an all-night caucus presided over by Leon Henderson, the decision was made to press the fight. With members in most of the large delegations, the organization was able to go to work effectively. The argument was that any Southern defections which might result from adoption of an all-out civil-rights plank would not compare with the losses that would otherwise occur in the Northern industrial centers. The strategy was to force the issue to the floor by way of a minority report and in the state-by-state vote confront relucant delegations with the challenge of a public poll of their members. Biemiller presented the amendment, and Humphrey spoke for it with an eloquence that evoked a parade of the banners.

Drawing by Seligson

Leon Henderson

To delegates with large labor and Negro constituencies the dilemma was sharp: go along with the party leaders and risk reprisals at home, or break ranks and hope for the best in November. One by one the big states saw the light—California, Illinois, Michigan, Massachusetts, New Jersey. When the New York leaders Flynn and Fitzpatrick delivered the New York vote, the battle was nearly won. But Pennsylvania, headed by Myers himself, could decide the issue, and Myers, though he has a good record in the Senate, was bitter over the Humphrey revolt. Here again the A. D. A. went to work, in the person of Richardson Dilworth, last year's Democratic candidate for mayor of Philadelphia and the man who started the current exposure of municipal graft in the convention city. Dilworth succeeded in getting a majority, with the result that under the unit rule Myers lost his own delegation. The engagement was won. Senator Lucas, who earlier in the proceedings had asked sarcastically if the A. D. A. was running the Democratic Party, ruefully remarked of Humphrey, "The boy is going places." With this much achieved by the A. D. A. alone—labor as such sat on its hands—Henry Wallace may well reflect on what might have been. Had he stayed on the reservation he still might not have been the nominee, but it is improbable that anyone could have been chosen over his veto—even Mr. Truman.

The victory of the civil-rights crowd left the diehard Southerners stunned and bitter. They had accepted de-

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feat of their own effort on the floor to insert a states'-rights plank and were prepared to swallow the original compromise. But this was too much. When the convention resumed after a hastily called recess, half the Alabama delegates and all the Mississippians walked out of the hall to the accompaniment of catcalls, boos, and cries of "Good riddance."

The Southern bolt appeared to be numerically insignificant, but it is much too early to judge it on the basis of those who walked out of Convention Hall. Alabamans who remained, under the chairmanship of Lister Hill, immediately made a point of yielding to Georgia for the purpose of naming Senator Russell as a protest candidate, and almost all the Southerners sat in stony silence during the fabricated uproar over the President's nomination. On top of all that had happened it must have galled them to hear Mr. Truman in his acceptance speech specifically demand civil-rights legislation. The Southerners can stand talk and platform planks, however; the real test for them—and for the President—will come in Congress, which he has audaciously called in special session.

It was that call, more than anything except the platform amendment, that really rocked the convention. The demonstration that greeted Truman's nomination was raucous enough and all too long, but like Dewey's a few weeks before, it was clearly a manufactured affair. Color came from the 6,000 balloons, the 1,500 blown-up photographs of the candidate, and the banners proclaiming Mr. Truman "the World's Hope," not to mention those dubiously complimentary signs in the shape of a donkey which bore the legend "Tried and True Truman." Noise was guaranteed by the usual blaring bands, an organ, dozens of washboards and pots, firecrackers, and even a few police sirens in the balcony, but there was more endurance in the affair than zest. The President's appearance—in itself a daring move, given the sourness of the convention—provoked a similar uproar, featured by the release of a score of doves from a monstrous floral Liberty Bell.

In contrast to these ponderous displays of doves and donkeys, the President's aggressive talk, his peppery manner, and his sensational challenge to the Republicans to act on their platform *now*—all these had an electric effect on delegates and gallery alike. The President offered them neither a simulated dignity nor an impression of real stature; but he did convey a spirit, though it was the fighting attitude of a bantam rather than a crusader, and a list of issues that any progressive voter must find unimpeachable. In the soggy atmosphere of Convention Hall the speech was refreshing if not inspiring. Coming on top of the civil-rights victory, it breathed into the party the hope of immediate survival, leaving to others the problem of its ultimate salvation.

Trouble in Italy

BY MARIO ROSSI

[*Mr. Rossi's article on the results of the Italian Socialist Congress was mailed six days before the attempted assassination of Togliatti. The cabled "postscript" which follows relates that incident to the whole situation of the left in Italy.*]

Rome, July 15, by Radio

DE GASPERI has denounced the attempt on Togliatti's life; but Senator Sandro Pertini, an independent Socialist, spoke the truth when he rose in the Senate and accused the government of responsibility for the deed. The young would-be assassin, a university student and correspondent of rightist papers, is a secondary figure in the drama. The shooting itself may have been an individual act, but one cannot conduct a campaign of hate, month after month, without inviting some unbalanced fanatic to take action which to him is the logical expression of this attitude. One cannot allow fascism to become organized legally and believe that order and democracy are safe.

If law and order still prevail in Italy, one may thank the admirable sense of responsibility shown by most Italians, not the government's police. Italians have not forgotten the pattern of Fascist conquest of power or the government's behavior in the years that followed the First World War. Similar things are happening again, the difference being that today the masses are less likely to yield their rights without a fight. Twenty-five years of Fascist terror and a ruinous war have forewarned the people of the consequences of defeat. If you speak with the ordinary man, he will tell you how painfully insecure he feels.

The government, to be sure, is promising all sorts of benefits, but the workers know that the same forces are behind De Gasperi which formerly supported Mussolini. Not a day goes by without some independent paper carrying a picture of Mussolini or members of the former royal house or printing the memoirs of some Fascist leader. Marshal Messe, commander of the Italian forces in the war against Russia, is being turned into a hero. The war criminal, Marshal Graziani, is supposed to be too sick to be tried, but he is evidently not sick enough to be unable to write books which are sold at all bookstores.

The manifestations all over Italy should warn De

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Gasperi that public indignation over the shooting is not limited to the Communists. Trade unionists and most Socialists are aroused and alarmed. Republicans and the Saragat Party should also take notice—the latter especially; their paper, only a day before the attentat, printed an editorial openly inviting civil war.

Rome, July 8, by Air Mail

THE Socialist Party Congress which opened at Genoa on June 27 was assigned the painful task of assessing the factors which had led to the party's crushing defeat in the general elections of April 18. The delegates assembled in a grim mood, determined to learn exactly what mistakes were responsible for the loss of two-thirds of the Socialist vote registered at the previous elections. They also wanted to fix the blame for those mistakes and get rid of the leaders responsible. The atmosphere was not one to encourage cool deliberation. In the end the congress dismissed the two top Socialist leaders, Pietro Nenni and Lelio Basso, and intrusted the party's affairs to men who favor an independent line—no more "single slates" with the Communists but no deals with the Catholic-controlled government. These new leaders are expected to carry the party through to the next congress, when in a less emotional atmosphere a strong Socialist platform can be drafted.

Because they were the chief architects of the policy of a common front with the Communists, Nenni and Basso were subjected to a bitter and even an unjust attack. Their policy may have been unwise; certainly it failed. But the choice was not the simple one their opponents make it appear. To have gone against the Communists would have meant splitting the working classes down the center, thus still further favoring the conservative bloc; to join the Communists in support of a common slate and program of action meant becoming identified with them and sharing completely the condemnation of Washington and the British Labor government.

Interpreting the situation in Italy strictly along orthodox Marxist lines, Nenni and Basso maintained that Socialists must side with Communists in an internal policy based on the "class struggle," and with Russia in opposition to the Marshall Plan and "American imperialism." Basso was particularly eloquent in rejecting any possible compromise and maintained that Italian socialism should stay out of the Socialist International (Comisco) and never join forces with Saragat's group, which by entering the government had become an instrument of reaction.

The section of the party led by Giuseppe Romita fought for Socialist unity based on acceptance of the Marshall Plan, complete divorce from the Communists, and adherence to the Comisco. Both attitudes were rejected by the victorious "center" group, which maintained that the position of Nenni and Basso was indistinguishable from that of the Communists, while Romita, on the other hand, had taken a line very close to that of Saragat except that he opposed participation in the Christian Democratic government.

The Socialist "center" believes that only its platform can save the party from further secessions and ultimate destruction. Its members are both able and pragmatic. They maintain that the pact of common action with the Communists should be respected but point out that it engages the two parties to consultation prior to important decisions and leaves them free to act as they please if no agreement is reached. They intend to remain in the Socialist International and defend their position against efforts by British Labor to exclude the Italian Socialist Party if its policy does not suit Mr. Bevin.

The newly elected executive has enough sense to understand that the Marshall Plan has become a reality and that it is much wiser to try to influence the distribution of American aid than to follow a policy of opposition. Unfortunately, the vital issue of Socialist unity has not been solved. The new leaders insist that unity implies a return of the Social Democrats—the Saragat group—to the old party. No compromise seems possible.

SARAGAT'S Socialists in the meantime are carrying their hate for the opposition to the point of willingly aiding De Gasperi in his effort to smash labor unity. So far the trade unions have escaped the control of the Christian Democrats, and the General Confederation of Labor is still dominated by the left—Socialist and Communist. De Gasperi is working overtime to win the industrial workers in the hope that the Confederation of Labor will elect a Christian Democrat (Catholic) executive. Should he fail, he will try to split the confederation, a move which would lead to the formation of two competing labor organizations. Don Sturzo did the same thing after the First World War when he created "white" labor unions in opposition to Socialist-dominated "red" unions. The result was to make it terribly easy for Mussolini to smash the labor movement and seize power. Nothing could do more to weaken Italian democracy today than to divide the organized workers. A melancholy feature of this attempt is the willingness of Moderate Socialists and Republicans to cooperate.

While the split in the Socialist Party was originally sponsored by the American right-wing labor leaders, Dubinsky and Antonini, the Saragat Socialists have now become closely related to the British Labor Party. It was Morgan Phillips, aided by Léon Blum, who managed to bring together Ivan Matteo Lombardo and Saragat and who induced them to follow the policies of the Labor Party by promising them the recognition of the Western Socialist parties. British Labor, while main-

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taining the best of relations with De Gasperi, needed a kindred party to expound its European policy in Italy.

Still, the Moderate Socialists know that they cannot eat their cake and have it—work with De Gasperi and carry out a Socialist program. Before the elections they could justify their presence in the government as necessary to check communism. But now they find themselves in the strange company of the Roman Catholic church on issues of social reform. In spite of De Gasperi's overwhelming victory, the church is worried by the success scored by the Communists in the south of Italy, and realizes that communism can be defeated only if emptied of its "evangelic" appeal to the masses. To a southern farmer craving a piece of workable land or to a northern industrial worker trying to make ends meet with inflated lire while his employer earns millions, Communist slogans still have a great appeal. The church therefore has directed Catholic Action to bring pressure to bear on De Gasperi, against the obvious opposition of the Christian Democratic Party, to sponsor a generous land reform. In doing so the church stands to lose very little, for in Italy, unlike Spain, it has invested its enormous wealth in stocks and bonds rather than land. On the other hand, the church hopes to secure for generations to come the loyalty and gratitude of farmers by enabling them to become small landowners. True, the church may alienate the support of the rich, but it well realizes that under a regime of universal suffrage it must depend on the masses. It knows, too, that the time has passed when piety was enough to hold them in line. The Communists, with their propaganda, have revealed the possibility of a better world such as the southern farmer never knew might even exist.

The church can easily take the initiative in social reforms, since today there is no non-Catholic political élite to contend with. The anti-clerical bourgeoisie has lost its strength and driving force. The masses now represent power, and the church has started an all-out drive to win them. In this effort secessionist Socialists and Republicans lend a helping hand. It is a new role for these leftist groups to play, and one can already detect signs of doubt and discomfort among their leaders.

White Supremacy—Crisis or Plot?

BY THOMAS SANCTON

I

Pass Christian, Miss., July 9

THE Southern "revolt" in the Democratic Party is the climax of a movement of planters, industrialists, and politicians which first became articulate at the beginning of Roosevelt's second term in 1936. The long-standing party rule requiring a two-thirds' majority for the nomination of a Presidential candidate had been abolished at the summer convention. This rule was one of the half-dozen obsolete parliamentary procedures, deeply imbedded in American government, which had assured a Southern political élite—a poll-tax-purified electorate of about one million people in the eleven states of the old Confederacy—something like a controlling balance of power in national affairs.

By the time Roosevelt's second term began, it became apparent that the whole weight of the New Deal, backed by the most massive mandate in American history, was moving inevitably, if haltingly, toward concepts of universal suffrage and a broader distribution of wealth. The New Deal's tendency was not only to wipe out the time-honored privilege of corporations and monopolies but to undermine the color-caste practices bound up with "white supremacy" in the South by attacking their base—the economic and legal prostration of perhaps twenty million white and Negro tenant farmers, or well over half the Southern population.

White supremacy as a racial and political doctrine was never met head-on by the New Deal. No full-dress statement of policy on this question, like the forthright report of President Truman's committee on civil rights, was ever entered on the record. But white supremacy as an economic monopoly manipulated by an ever-narrowing white minority clustered in the courthouse, the banks, the main streets, the plantations, was confronted with reforms, with analysis, and with publicity that exposed its essentially racketeering purposes.

The epochal report of the Temporary National Economic Committee in 1938 was an exhaustive analysis of the collapse of an economy based on cotton tenancy and low-wage industrialism. The political and social concepts that developed out of its fact-finding led to a series of United States Supreme Court decisions firmly challenging state racism. The planter-business reaction, on the other hand, brought about a major realignment in the American party system, drawing Democratic and Repub-

THOMAS SANCTON has been an editor in Atlanta, managing editor of the New Republic, *and a Niemann fellow. He is now working on a book, "The Southern People," to be published by Doubleday and Company. The second part of his article will appear next week.*

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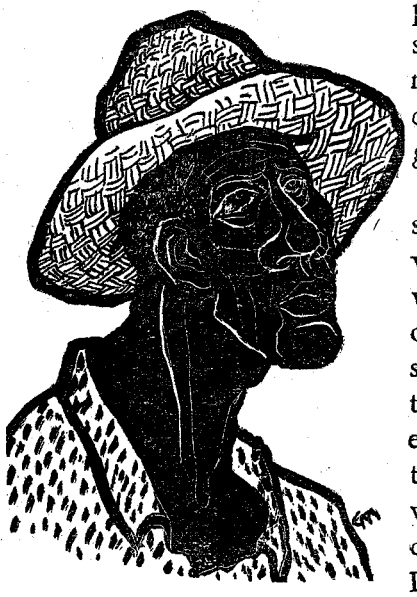
lican monopolists into effective collaboration. Even without the war, this alliance might have proved dominant, for behind it were unlimited Republican "educational" resources like the press and the National Association of Manufacturers and other lobbies, and the South's disproportionate share of strategic committee memberships and chairmanships in Congress.



During the depression President Roosevelt had by-passed the whole complex system of check points and screening processes—the Southern press and educatinoal institutions in general—which the planter-industrial group and its Democratic state machines had placed between the Southern mentality and whatever in the outside world of science, politics, and reality challenged the emotionalism of the color-caste dogma. At a time when the business element obviously had lost control of its artificial price-fixing market system, and when the insubstantial nature of the paper held in banks and title-and-registration offices had become apparent, the New Deal seeped into the most remote back counties with a kind of propaganda—food and jobs—which outweighed any other appeal. On its own terms the white-supremacy oligarchy was as bankrupt of political prestige for the moment as it was of ready cash. All Southern politicians, therefore, who wanted to keep their jobs—and they all wanted that—clung to the coattails of President Roosevelt, whose leadership had become the only political reality for the Southern masses.

Because he symbolized the help that was coming through to them from the New Deal Administration, Roosevelt reached the Southern poor whites as no man had ever reached them in history. He also reached the Southern Negroes, but they were politically unimportant at the time, since they were almost totally disfranchised by the white-primary practices of the Southern Democratic Party. Ironically, the depression in combination with the New Deal actually improved the economic status of many poor whites and Negroes, bringing some of them the first inkling of "cash money income" and "subsistence diet."

Throughout the South industrial wages settled to coolie levels during the depression. Wages of 6 cents an hour for women in textile mills, of 10 cents an hour for common labor, white as well as black, were not unusual. With labor costs reduced to a minor factor, most Southern industries continued paying dividends to shareholders, of whom the majority lived in the North and were stalwarts of the Republican Party.

A similar situation existed in agriculture. For example, the per capita income of farmers ranged around $300 a year in Southern states. This, though a fantastically low figure, was nevertheless much higher than the income of the large share-cropper group, which ranged from $38 a year in some states to $87 in others. The difference is due to the inclusion of the income of the plantation owners in the total from which the per capita average of farmers is obtained. The Southern states have not only the nation's poorest but also the nation's richest farmers. Government land experts have estimated that between 85 and 95 per cent of the best farm land in the South is owned by less than 10 per cent of the *white* farming group. The National Resources Committee reported in 1936, a depression year, that of the nation's farm families with annual cash incomes of $10,000 or higher, more than 70 per cent lived in the South.

Vast numbers of white Southerners from the lower ranks of the middle class—clerks, teachers, even small business men, the white-collar group in general—were thrust down by the depression to the economic level of poor whites. Though they kept the tremendous advantage of educational and social status, their skills and credentials were often completely useless; later, however, the war boom was to rehabilitate many of them in a dramatic way. To the extent that this group embraced the New Deal, the planter-industrial leadership had to follow along, for the clerks of the towns and cities, the independent farmers, and the more fortunate tenants in the rural areas formed the extremely narrow mass base of the white-supremacy electorate. From 1932 to 1936 one could have searched the South from end to end in vain for an openly anti-New Deal politician.

THE first organized political attacks on the New Deal came during Roosevelt's second term and were spearheaded in the South by planter lobbies like the Farm Bureau and the Delta Cotton Council and by chambers of commerce and the multitude of luncheon clubs—with their mottoes of "Service above self," or "We build"—lampooned in "Babbitt" and a dozen other books. In the persons of Ed O'Neal of Alabama and Oscar Johnson of Mississippi, the Farm Bureau and the Cotton Council—both vest-pocket organizations—had heads and lobbyists of championship caliber. These men were the liaison between Congress and the state legislatures. They worked hand in hand with lobbies of the growing textile, oil, steel, manufacturing, and merchant groups. The railroad and planter cliques, later also the utilities, had controlled most of the Southern legislatures for many decades. In association with the new, bustling Yankee manufacturing groups, which introduced the lively public-relations tech-

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niques of the National Association of Manufacturers, they soon had hotel lobbies and legislatures saturated with glossy pamphlets, mimeographed statistics, and often with smiling young representatives of outfits with names like Industry Associates, Education Associates, Good Government Associates—fresh from the home offices in New York.

Though it took another ten years for the planter-business élite in the South to set up state Democratic machines for open collaboration with the Republican and N. A. M. elements throughout the nation, they began to move in this direction when the wage-and-hour law and the Farm Security Administration made it evident that the New Deal was more than a vote-getting slogan—that it could also exert effective pressure on the South's feudal economy.

Manufacturers whose lowest element of cost, in proportion to its productive importance in the finished item, was the labor, both Negro and white, which they drew from an inexhaustible reservoir, resisted violently the imposition of the federal wage minimum of 25 cents an hour. Southern politicians, acting directly for Northern capital but wrapped in the Confederate flag and the race question, fought for the maintenance in federal law of traditional regional differentials in pay. To the South's dominant minority a collaborator with the N. A. M. against white mill hands or Negro tenant farmers is not a "collaborator" in an odious sense but a Southern booster and a conserver of sacred institutions like racism. To these people—and they control the editorial pages, the public forums, the written and to a large extent the spoken word—the "scalawags" and "collaborators" are the organizers of tenant farmers or textile workers, or the pro-civil-rights politicians, who are said to be working with "communistic Northern Jews" to "wreck the South."

In agriculture the work of the Resettlement Administration, growing into the Farm Security Administration, paralleled the minimum-wage law in tending to free farm labor from economic prostration. The planters' counter-attack on the New Deal farm program was relentless. In Congress their fight was made on the grounds of "economy" and the evil effect of "pampering." Their leading spokesmen, such men as "Cotton Ed" Smith and Senator Byrd, were personally intrenched in the South's feudal agricultural system. Matching the work of planter lobbies like the Farm Bureau and the Cotton Council were such city groups as the Christian Americans, based in Houston, Texas, and a host of "patriotic," "Southern," and "regional" organizations. Every business club —sometimes even the garden clubs—was a mouthpiece for protest and propaganda against any alteration of the labor and political bases of white supremacy.

The industrial half of this planter-industry nutcracker operation against the reformist movement of the 1930's got under way among the oil and cattle men of Texas, the oil men and sugar planters of Louisiana, the mercantile and shipping interests of New Orleans, Houston, Memphis, and Atlanta, the steel and coal operators of Alabama, the textile manufacturers of the whole South Atlantic region. In general the present wave of reaction is supported by all the investing and managing communities, from the Southern industrial metropolis to Old Man Johnson's "furnish" store at the unnamed crossroads.

A LARGE part of the money and energy behind the anti-civil-rights "revolt" comes from the oil men, who are fighting to defeat the federal government's claim to the tremendous resources that lie beneath the waters of the Gulf of Mexico. The lowest estimate of experts places the total of these undeveloped oil reserves at four billion barrels. When the first off-shore well began producing commercially several weeks ago, its "25-gravity" oil brought more than $3 a barrel at the delivery point in New Orleans. The financial stake in the issue of federal control, therefore, is staggering.

State capitals like Jackson, Mississippi, and Baton Rouge, Louisiana, are swarming with "oil people." In Mississippi the anti-civil-rights movement is masterminded by a Kansas advertising man and lobbyist who pitches the campaign on the keynotes of race fears and sacred Southern traditions. President Truman is not the only target of these people. They sweat over the thought that four billion barrels of oil may pass permanently into the control of the Department of the Interior.

In recent years the region's most influential corporation lawyers, acting in the Christian American group or in participating groups in other states, have prepared skilful anti-closed-shop legislation, and lobbyists, provided with the necessary wherewithal, have steered these bills to passage in Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Virginia, Arkansas, and Florida. The national character of this N. A. M.-inspired program was revealed in an Associated Press survey of March 15, 1947, which showed that more than a fourth of the states had passed such bills. The preponderance of Southern states among those which had passed legislation obviously designed for the benefit of Northern industrial-investment interests is evidence of the alliance between the Southern Democratic leadership and the Republican Old Guard.

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Just as the industrial lobbyists have emphasized that the closed shop is "un-American," the planter councils have emphasized that opposition to the civil-rights doctrine is an essential characteristic of good Americans. There never has been any clear demarcation of the lobbying groups, and their common spokesmen in the legislatures not only try to break the unions in the name of "individual freedom" but orate vigorously against individual freedom in the name of "states' rights" when civil-rights legislation is in question. Southern editors, with few exceptions, never remark on the nakedness of this farce. To stay in business and to share in the advantages of the white élite, they have to lend their columns and their services to the states'-rights position, which an impartial reading of Southern history shows to be the very foundation of the color-caste debasement of Negroes and the economic and social impoverishment of the poor whites.

Independence—with Strings

BY WILLIAM WINTER

ON JULY 4 the Philippine Republic began its third struggling year of life with its economy as well as its politics strongly linked to the United States. The republic is in fact not independent; its political independence is unreal because its economic independence is impossible.

Filipinos who expected full sovereignty when their new nation was born two years ago were quickly disillusioned. Help was needed from the United States, and they were soon to learn that strings would be tied to that help, strings that choked independence.

During the Japanese occupation our government promised "to assist in the full repair" of war damage in the islands. But Section 601 of the Rehabilitation Act contained this interesting stipulation:

> No payments . . . in excess of $500 shall be made until an executive agreement shall have been entered into between the President of the United States and the President of the Philippines . . . providing for trade relations between the United States and the Philippines.

This meant that before there were any individual payments large enough to rebuild shattered factories or shops the Philippine constitution would have to be amended to guarantee special privileges to American business men—that is, equal rights with Filipinos. For the President of the United States was empowered to enter into the executive agreement only if the Trade Act, known as the Bell bill, was accepted in Manila. And the Trade Act was not to become effective until certain parts of it were written into the Philippine constitution. The language of the act is blunt and unmistakable:

> The President of the United States is not authorized . . . to enter into such executive agreement unless . . . the government of the Philippines will promptly take such steps as are necessary to secure the amendment of the constitution of the Philippines so as to permit the taking effect as laws of the Philippines . . . the provisions of Section 341.

There it was, for all Filipinos to see. They might wince, and complain that powerful Uncle Sam was taking an unfair advantage of their helplessness; that no such intrusion on Philippine sovereignty was mentioned during the war when aid for rehabilitation was promised. The promise had echoed through the provinces as the people listened to short-wave radio sets hidden in attics and forests and caves. It had helped maintain Filipino morale and defeat Japanese propaganda. Now, however, aid depended on concessions, and though people might fume and insist on their sovereign right to draft their own constitution without orders from Washington, the American law was coldly unequivocal.

Section 341 of the Bell Trade Act, which was to be made part of the Philippine constitution, provides for what is known to Filipinos as "parity." Most Americans have probably never heard of parity, much less read the Bell bill, but Section 341 has been studied in every province of the sovereign Republic of the Philippines. It runs as follows:

> The disposition, exploitation, development, and utilization of all agricultural, timber, and mineral lands of the public domain, waters, minerals, coal, petroleum, and other mineral oils, all forces and sources of potential energy, and other natural resources of the Philippines, and the operation of public utilities, shall, if open to any person, be open to citizens of the United States and to all forms of business enterprise owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by United States citizens.

March 11 of last year was the date set for the plebiscite on whether the Philippine constitution should be amended

WILLIAM WINTER was in charge of all OWI broadcasts to the Philippines during the war and after the liberation was a newspaper correspondent in Manila. He has recently returned from an extended visit to the islands.

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to comply with the dictates of the United States Congress. In the preceding months the late President Roxas, in accordance with the requirement that he should take "such steps as are necessary to secure the amendment of the constitution," traveled through the islands from northern Luzon to southern Mindanao, dutifully urging his people to accept "parity" and assuring them that, despite the arbitrary demands of American big business, Filipinos had no need to fear their friends the Americans. The Roxas speeches were written, edited, or at least approved by an American navy commander whose official title was Press Relations Officer for the United States Embassy in Manila. Our ambassador at that time, Paul V. McNutt, graciously proffered this officer's services and permitted him to reside in Malacañan, the presidential palace, so that he would always be at the President's elbow.

Like most other American correspondents in Manila at the time, I tried to tell the story to American newspaper readers. But neither press associations nor newspaper editors cared to release our reports. The American correspondents in a body asked for the recall of the navy commander from Malacañan Palace, but that fact was not published either. Probably, we decided, this was because only a few big American utilities, manufacturers, and oil companies would have been interested. The Filipinos, however, were extremely interested in the commander. I heard some of them describe him as the "Rasputin of Malacañan." Others referred to him as "the American Kihara"—Kihara was the Japanese who cracked the whip over the puppet Philippine government during the war.

NEVERTHELESS, the American-sponsored parity provision was voted into the constitution, and ever since American industry has been reaping the benefit of its special privileges. Westinghouse owns a big block of stock in the Philippine Electrical Manufacturing Company and plans to manufacture light bulbs. Westinghouse has also contracted to build hydroelectric power plants. Lever Brothers has taken over a soap refinery in Manila, the Philippines being one of the world's largest producers of copra, which is essential in soap manufacture. Standard Oil and Socony-Vacuum are negotiating for oil rights in the island of Cebu.

The special attractions for American big business are numerous. First, taxes are much lower in the Philippines than in the United States. The corporate tax rate is 12 per cent as contrasted with 38 per cent in America. Personal income taxes in the Philippines range from 3 per cent to 60 per cent; in the United States, from 20 to 91 per cent. And a married man gets a tax exemption of $1,250. Second, labor costs are much less. Third, shipping charges are saved when the factory is close to the source of raw materials. In addition, there is a large reserve of dollars in the Philippines, and at present the trade balance between the two countries is fairly even.

American capital has joyfully begun a westward march to Manila, but Filipinos are loudly expressing their resentment. They consider the provisions of the Trade Act inordinately high-handed and are humiliated to note that Filipinos are not accorded similar rights in the United States. Moreover, only 100 Filipinos are permitted to enter the United States each year, while 1,200 Americans a year may enter the Philippines for a five years' stay and an additional 500 for permanent residence. Now that the bars are down, American investors are expected to beat a broad path across the Pacific, but the islands' economic dependence on us is already virtually complete. We are their largest customer, their main supplier of manufactured goods, and their big reservoir of wealth. The peso is pegged at 50 American cents, though its actual value may be no more than 16 cents.

Because of this economic dependence the young republic scrupulously avoids any foreign policy which might be at variance with Washington's. On important international issues we can count the Philippines on our side. While covering the San Francisco conference which produced the U. N. Charter, I asked a Philippine delegate why he had voted favorably on a certain question when he had previously indicated he would oppose it. "Why, the American State Department was in favor of it," was his bland reply. "Did the State Department ask you to vote that way?" I inquired. "Of course not," he said. "But don't you think we know on which side our bread is buttered?"

In their domestic policies, however, the Filipino leaders do not always follow American suggestions. They have, for example, their own view of collaboration. Shortly after the liberation President Truman called for the trial and punishment of "traitors" who had worked for the enemy. His demand has been virtually ignored.

In December, 1944, soon after the American landing on Leyte, the first treason case was tried in Tacloban, Leyte's capital. The accused was Bernardo Torres, wartime puppet governor of the province. The new liberation governor was the guerrilla leader in Leyte, Colonel Ruperto Kangleon. Kangleon let it be known at the time that if Torres were ever released from jail, his guerrillas would "get" him. Today Torres is out of jail, living an unmolested life at home with his family. Technically he is still out on bail, but there is no prospect that he will ever be brought to trial again. Colonel Kangleon is now Minister of National Defense in the President's Cabinet.

Philippine intellectuals are outraged by this new attitude toward war-time collaborators. But there is a dearth of experienced leadership in the country, and most of the capable men served Japan during the war. Moreover, the Filipino small farmers, who make up the bulk of the electorate, are familiar with the old names and therefore inclined to return them to office. New names sink into their consciousness very slowly. Newspaper cir-

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culations are small; radio receiving sets are high-priced and scarce. "Collaboration" is regarded as some strange American term. The people are ready to forget and to forgive. They are so much so, in fact, that José P. Laurel is expected to be the next President of the Philippines—the man whom the Japanese appointed President, who signed the Philippine declaration of war against the United States at Tokyo's request!

Collaboration will be only a minor issue in the next election, due in November, 1949. Popular interest is focused on the prospects of Laurel's third party. So far Laurel has not affiliated himself with either the Liberals or the Nationalists, but he has begun to win American support by promising to fight communism. As early as June 27, 1947, this interesting argument was inserted in the *Congressional Record* by Representative Harold C. Hagen of Minnesota:

> Many distorted statements and much misinformation has been sent to America about Laurel. . . . The seeds of communism being sown all over the world also are being sown in the Philippines. . . . It would be a disaster to his country if Laurel's effectiveness as a leader were in any way impaired. There may be a time in the near future when the exponents of democracy will need every strong friend they can muster in the fight to keep the insidious forces of communism from spreading throughout the Philippines.

Laurel was a prominent figure in the islands before the war, and since he now has American support—even if it is unofficial—it is not surprising that both major political parties are wooing him. The Liberal leaders, headed by the present President, Elpidio Quirino, have made overtures to him, and so has Senator Eulogio Rodriguez, chief of the Nationalist Party of former President Osmeña. But Laurel remains aloof, telling friends he will draw votes from both parties if he runs as an independent. He will probably win in a landslide.

Two other men to watch are Claro Recto and Camilio Osias. The latter, a native of northern Luzon, may be the vice-presidential choice of the Liberals if the presidential candidate comes from the southern islands. Teachers favor Osias because he used to be a teacher himself. That he was also Minister of Propaganda in the Laurel puppet government is unlikely to affect his political career. Recto was Laurel's Minister of Foreign Affairs and is one of his staunch supporters. He has so far avoided the embrace of both major parties, waiting to see where Laurel will turn. If Laurel forms a third party, Recto will probably be his running-mate.

Whatever the outcome of the election the official attitude toward the United States will not be changed. If Laurel becomes President, his declaration of war will be glibly excused as having been made under duress. To the provincial Filipino that would be perfectly plausible.

Memoirs of Eduard Beneš

VI. OUR PACT WITH RUSSIA

MY TRIP to the Soviet Union was planned while I was preparing to go to the United States. It was to be our final political act during the struggle for liberation. I was aware that Munich, with its catastrophic consequences for Europe, had come about because of Western Europe's hostility to Russia. Clearly, this hostility must be dispelled if we were to win the war.

Before my trip to the United States, as I said in a preceding chapter, I wanted to get a clear idea of the Soviet Union's policy, both during the war and afterward, with respect to non-interference in our domestic affairs, recognition of our full sovereignty, and, above all, our permanent relations with East and West. I also wanted to learn the Kremlin's attitude toward post-war Germany. I believed that information on these points would bring all the Allies, especially the great powers, much closer together, weaken or remove unjustified suspicions of the Soviet Union, and thus help to prepare for what was actually accomplished later at the Allied conferences in Moscow and Teheran. I began conversations along these lines with the Soviet ambassador in London, Bogomolov, early in 1943. I informed him of the aims of my projected voyage to America and said: "During my visit I must justify our entire policy toward Germany, Poland, and the Soviet Union. Therefore before I leave, I should like to ask Moscow some fundamental questions. From the replies any one of the Allies will be able to see where our policy is heading, especially with regard to Poland. The Polish question is the most burning of all in both London and Washington."

This is the sixth and final instalment of an abridged text of Benes's Memoirs, published last fall in Prague. Events since then have provided a tragic footnote to the analysis of Russian-Czechoslovak relations contained in this chapter. The February crisis gave the Communists control of the government; on June 7 Dr. Benes resigned as President. Although in poor health and living now in retirement at his country home, the ex-President is said to be at work on a final volume of his Memoirs, bringing down to date his account of political developments in Czechoslovakia and the world.

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On April 23 Bogomolov visited me at Aston Abbotts, bringing me definite answers to all my basic questions. He summarized Moscow's reply as follows: "The Soviet government will, in principle, not give a negative answer when it receives an exact text of the proposed treaty which we have been discussing. It will accept a clause in the treaty expressing the principle of mutual non-interference in internal affairs, and it will have no objection to post-war cooperation with Poland in the manner expressed in the Czechoslovak question. The Soviet government therefore requests that you formulate and present a draft for a treaty."

In Washington I found immediate understanding for our policy toward the Soviet Union. Roosevelt, Cordell Hull, and Sumner Welles all agreed with it in principle. Our proposed treaty appeared to the American government an example of what Russia's other neighbors should do.

In London the situation was somewhat different. Winston Churchill rather inclined toward our view, but in the Foreign Office opinion was divided. Some officials agreed with us, but others thought we leaned too much toward the East, especially as regards the Poles, who were, it was said, being isolated by the Soviet attempt to fix the Polish frontier along the Curzon line. A great majority of the London Poles were decidedly against this policy, which they saw would block their cherished plan for reconstructing a Central European federation under Polish leadership, in opposition to both Germany and the Soviet Union.

After my return from Washington I met Anthony Eden three times for long conversations. In the beginning Eden did not seem actually opposed to the treaty or to my trip to Moscow. He believed, however, that while I might go immediately to Moscow to negotiate the treaty, we should not actually sign it until later, in deference to British public opinion, possibly not till after an armistice with Germany.

I did not approve of such a postponement. I said it was in our interest and in the interest of all the Allies to show the world by our treaty what Moscow wanted. It would bring the Soviet Union closer to Great Britain and the United States and relieve the other Allies as to Stalin's aims. Above all, it would contribute to a tranquil development of the relations of Russia to Europe and the world. I said emphatically that I accepted as a reality what the Soviet Union promised and that from my previous experience I had no reason to doubt its word. (Was I mistaken in my judgment and my expectations at that time? Only the future can say.)

Great Britain never opposed the treaty in principle. Our differences, I again emphasize, were only over when it should be signed. But the Soviet Union, once we had agreed on the text, insisted that if I went to Moscow, I must sign the treaty then and there.

The British government, and Eden personally, concluded from our discussions that considerable uncertainties and differences of opinion existed between London and Moscow, if not possible conflicts of policy after the war. They became convinced that these differences should be investigated, and that an attempt should be made by Great Britain, the United States, and Russia to reach unity of opinion on the basic questions of war and peace. It was thus, I believe, that there arose the idea of holding a conference of the three Allied foreign ministers in Moscow in October, 1943, and supplementing it by a conference of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin at Teheran in November or December of the same year.

At the Teheran conference the first attempts were made to establish military and political spheres of influence for the Eastern and Western powers. The Soviet Union declared that it counted northeastern Germany and the whole of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Hungary in its zone. The British and Americans apparently offered no objection to this. But nothing was said to us of these decisions, either from the Soviet or the Anglo-American side. We discovered their import only during the Slovak uprising in September-October, 1944, when we encountered certain difficulties in obtaining aid from the British and Americans.

After the conference of foreign ministers Eden informed me that the question of our treaty had been completely clarified there and that nothing further stood in the way of my going to Moscow.

MY TALKS with the Kremlin really began during my trip, when a representative of Foreign Minister Molotov, Alexander Korneichuk, came to meet me at the Habaniyah airfield near Bagdad. Korneichuk, our Minister Fierlinger, and I spent a whole week together at the airdrome, while bad weather kept us from continuing our trip through the Caucasus and southern Russia. We went over everything that I wanted to discuss in Moscow—questions of the war and the peace, Germany, Hungary, especially Poland and Russia's future Slav policy, our relations with the Ukrainians, and our future common policy with the Soviet Union.

In Moscow, the problem of Poland was discussed in the greatest detail when I went to the theater in company with Stalin, Kalinin, Molotov, Voroshilov, Korneichuk, and Fierlinger. I and my collaborators were very favorably impressed by this talk at the theater. The views of the Soviet leaders were realistic, quiet, and sincere. They desired, as Stalin said, an independent and strong Poland, but they could not forget Poland's policy in the twenty years after the First World War, and they did not want to see it repeated. I urged them to agree to an eventual renewal of diplomatic relations with Poland and to give it the same assurance they had given us, that they would not interfere in domestic matters. Before we left the

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theater Stalin summed up his views. When I asked if I could transmit this to Mikolajczyk as an official message from Moscow he empowered me to do so.

On my way back from Moscow I received at Cairo and again at Algiers an invitation from Churchill to visit Marrakesh, where he was convalescing. He was especially interested in the Polish problem, on which, he said, there must be an accord as soon as possible. He also wanted to talk with me about Yugoslav affairs.

I told him about my negotiations and gave him my impressions of Polish-Soviet relations. He felt very decidedly that the Poles should accept what I was bringing Mikolajczyk from Moscow. He advised me to communicate with Eden and Mikolajczyk and then, together with Eden, exert friendly pressure on the Poles to make them accept Stalin's offer.

I reached London on January 6, 1944. On January 8, in the presence of Masaryk, I went over all this again with Eden. On January 10 I invited Mikolajczyk to Aston Abbotts. I summarized my view of the Russian position as follows: The present Polish government would have to be changed; Moscow would be prepared to resume diplomatic relations with a new London Polish government immediately; it was entirely willing to negotiate with Mikolajczyk. Moscow could not retreat from the Curzon line but would agree to territorial compensation for Poland at the expense of Germany; the eastern frontiers of Poland might be moved back from the line arranged with Germany in 1939 to the "corrected" Curzon line. The Soviet Union's treaty with Czechoslovakia was a basis for a future accord with Poland and for a future guaranty of Poland against Germany. The Soviet Union had no intention of arranging any kind of revolution in Germany. There would be no interference in Polish internal affairs—no bolshevizing or sovietizing.

I saw that this report made a powerful impression on Mikolajczyk. But he did not believe he could dominate the London Poles and compel them to negotiate.

OUR treaty with Russia, the first of its kind during the war partially broke down the barrier between the Soviets and the Western world. At once a sharp controversy arose about it. Conservatives in England and in America and some in other countries attacked us. We went through a rather difficult period, especially since it soon became obvious that the opposite policy of the Poles was causing complications.

Of course, many forecast serious disappointments for us from our experience with the Soviet Union. It was charged privately and publicly that "Benes was in too much of a hurry." German propaganda poured out fire and brimstone, telling our people that I had sold my homeland to Stalin. But we received news from home that the majority of our people—not Communists—fully understood and approved our action.

We were asked, and we are still asked today: Are you Eastern or Western in your culture? The West imagined during the war that we were preparing suddenly to become an Eastern nation. However, I believe that the situation has always been presented incorrectly. It was not and is not a question of changing orientation. The cultural development of a nation is not something which can be changed like a coat from one day to the next. It consists of values which are created over the centuries and can only be changed very slowly. Thus for us the question, West or East? is consciously and clearly settled by the affirmation, West *and* East. In this conviction we signed our treaty with the Soviet Union in December, 1943.

I believe that the two politico-social systems—post-war Western democracy and Soviet socialism—can exist together, in peace and mutual understanding. No one can say today how this will come about. Will the relations between the two systems continue hostile up to a final violent reckoning? Or will both parties, ceasing to rely on their ideologies or their atomic bombs, return to the statesman-like policy of cooperation followed during the war, to the policy so necessary for the welfare of both?

If they do not, then woe, woe unto all of us!

In the Wind

NOTE OF HOPE on the price front—Catalogue number 29 of Biblo and Tannen, New York City booksellers, lists the following item: " 'The American Individual Enterprise System, Its Nature, Evolution, and Future.' By the Economic Principles Commission of the National Association of Manufacturers. Published at $10; now $6.50."

EUPHEMISM NOTE: There is a cartoon feature printed in the Brooklyn *Tablet* under the title "Strange but True—Little-Known Facts for Catholics." One panel of a recent spread of Strange but True informed its readers that "Roger Bacon (1214-1292), famous English Franciscan friar and scientist, was commissioned by the pope to write a book on science. The MS. was mislaid [!] and only published in 1733—450 years after his death."

NOTE OF SUPERB IMAGINATION: A recent editorial in the *Daily Worker* dealing with the ban imposed upon us by the Board of Superintendents refers to this journal as "the wealthy magazine, *The Nation.*"

OPIATE-OF-THE-PEOPLE NOTE: Letter to the editor of the *Witness*, a Protestant magazine, in its issue of April 22—"There is an occasional number of the *Witness* that brings me that peace and quiet I look for in the church. However, too often I am urged to stir myself about something; to protest against what you consider an infringement of civil liberties; to urge more rights for Negroes; to write Washington about something or other. Since these things upset me so, I am asking you to discontinue my subscription. [Signed] Miss C. M. Weeks, Boston."

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Del Vayo—Open Letter to the British Labor Party

New York, July 18

DEAR COMRADES: Twelve years ago today the people of Spain rose against the fascist aggression in one of the most desperate struggles for liberty known to history. All through the first act of the tragedy, from the Franco rebellion in July, 1936, to the entry of the aggressors into Madrid in March, 1939, you stood with us, ideologically, and often heartened us by sending word of your solidarity. If I had to name the one among you whose testimony was most authoritative, and therefore most valued by us, I should name Clement Attlee. He was in Spain with a Labor delegation when we were having a very hard time, and I well remember the deep and genuine emotion with which he told me how he admired all we were doing at the front. I remember, too, the passionate regret in his voice when he said to me and the other Socialist members of the Cabinet, "If only we were now in power!"

You know less about the sufferings of the Spanish people since the war *officially* ended; I underline "officially" because actually it continued and is going on today. Your Spanish comrades are still falling before the guns of the most ferociously reactionary regime the country has ever known. From 1939 to 1945 you were too absorbed in your own great war to follow in detail the incidents of the second phase of the Battle of Spain, when Spanish Republicans were risking their lives within Spain against the Franco-Hitler-Mussolini Axis which was threatening knockout blows to the Allies at Gibraltar, in Africa, and on the sea. At the same time, as you were perhaps aware, Spaniards abroad, in any country where they were allowed to serve, were fighting for your victory, and for that of the United States and France. They fought on your side even though the Allied governments had betrayed the cause of democracy in Spain and had treated Spanish Republicans in other countries in a way which I will refrain from recalling here.

Your compatriots, Conservatives or Laborites—unfortunately the difference between them has become almost imperceptible as far as Spain is concerned—like to speak of Spanish pride to justify their policy of "non-intervention." (We never set down the word without quotation marks.) True, we are a proud people, but when émigré Spaniards escaped from French concentration camps where they had been treated like dogs, their pride was not too great for them to fight for the Allies on many fronts. And when they were rejected by the Allied military authorities because they lacked the "necessary papers," their pride was not too great for them to serve on ships carrying explosives from Canadian ports through the submarine-infested waters of the North Atlantic.

On the third act of the Spanish drama the curtain has not yet fallen. It covers the period from 1945 to today, the period which inspires this letter. The Labor Party came to power in 1945. The victory was celebrated by the Spanish emigration as if it were its own. It was celebrated also in the prisons of Spain. Some of the patriots who were led from their cells at dawn to face a firing squad died with renewed hope in their hearts, the hope that British Labor, once in power, would make its promises good. They had read in the clandestine press what almost all the Labor candidates campaigning for election had said about Spain. I reread many of those speeches when I was in London last January. The candidates promised to work unceasingly to restore the liberties of the Spanish people. Not only British honor was engaged in those promises; your own Socialist honor was pledged.

British policy toward Spain since the Labor Party came to power has made not only Spanish Socialists, who are the most directly affected, but Socialists all over the world feel heartsick and ashamed. Nor has British Labor any excuse for its actions and failures to act.

The summer of 1945 was the time to drive from a Europe drenched in the blood of Allied soldiers a regime which all the official declarations of the Allies had stigmatized as subservient to if not identical with Hitler's. The government over which Attlee presided was not a coalition government in which the Labor members, like the French Socialists in 1936, were forced to consider the wishes of other parties. It had in the House of Commons an ample majority publicly committed to back a clear policy on Spain. It could orient its foreign policy as it wished. It could still adopt a policy worthy of a Socialist government if its Foreign Minister chose to do so.

Bevin has deceived all the Spanish Republicans. He has even deceived his friend Indalecio Prieto, whom at one time he seemed ready to support because of Prieto's anti-Russian stand. I was and am against the Bevin-Prieto plan to settle the Spanish problem by forming a coalition with the Monarchists—a plan which under cover of "free elections" can only end in the restoration of the throne and the outbreak of a new civil war. But if Bevin, who remains in the monarchist tradition of British Labor, does want a king for Spain, he should at least have effectively helped Indalecio Prieto to carry out his program. Actually he has aided only Franco. At a session of the Cortes in Madrid four days ago, Franco's Foreign Minister, Martín Artajo, pointed to the commercial agreement recently signed with London as one of his latest diplomatic victories.

But I am not directing this letter especially to Ernest Bevin. I am not quite that optimistic. I am addressing it to the party rank and file, to the members of Parliament who campaigned in 1945 on the Spanish issue, and, most particularly, to the "Keep Left" group—R. H. S. Crossman and the other back-benchers who stand with him.

Three years have passed since Labor took power. How long will you wait, comrades, before you do your duty as Socialists? Last week Socialists were shot in Spain. It is in their name that I send you this letter.

JULIO ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Chinese Facts for an American Policy

THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA. By John King Fairbank. Harvard University Press. $3.75.

UNDERSTANDING of the problems that lie between the United States and China requires a reasonable degree of competence in at least three fields. The first is the history of American foreign policy, in which are to be found both continuity, or lack of change, and development, which implies change. The second is the history of China, its social and economic history, as well as the succession of dynasties, the events of wars, and the terms of treaties. The third—since debate on policy toward China cannot be separated from debate on policy toward Russia—is Russian history and the tenets of Marxism, both separately and in relation to each other.

A judicious combination of knowledge in these three fields is disturbingly rare among writers on "the China question," in Congress, and, if this may be whispered, in the State Department, which is one of the fortified strongholds of the mythology of the social sciences.

That elusive condition of collective attitudes and thinking which we call "informed public opinion" is one of the imperatives of a healthy democracy. Owing to lack of uncontaminated nourishment, informed public opinion on China is at present suffering from relapsing fever. Professor Fairbank's book is exactly the tonic that is needed.

I imagine that everyone who has studied the problems of China with a care approximating that of Professor Fairbank himself will differ from him on many points of opinion and interpretation. In approaching the problems of China we are often handicapped by lack of factual knowledge. Nor is there full agreement on all the "known facts," among Chinese or Americans. It is therefore unreasonable to expect agreement on the emphasis to be put on these facts or on the inferences to be drawn from them. Professor Fairbank's two most valuable contributions to the discussion are his insistence that the phenomena of China be examined in themselves and his repeated warnings against projecting our own subjective attitudes and preconceptions into fields in which we should be looking for the objective facts.

To those who are familiar with the range of controversy in China itself it is obvious that the most important influences on his thinking derive from several groups of Chinese social scientists loosely associated in the Democratic League and on its fringes. These groups, which overlap each other but have produced no rigid body of dogma, have all been influenced by the methodology of the social sciences in North America and Western Europe. They have applied this methodology to the study of China's history, society, and economy. They accept many of the concepts prevailing in North America and Western Europe, but not nearly so unquestioningly as the inhabitants of those regions accept them. They practice certain ways of thinking derived from Confucianism and the rest of the cultural heritage of China but reject the barren neo-Confucianism of the right-wing Kuomintang. They examine Marxism more dispassionately than is usually possible in North America and Western Europe; unlike the Chinese Communists, they do not swallow the whole of it; unlike the Kuomintang ideologues, they do not violently reject the whole of it. They concede, cautiously, that some of the methodology of Marxism is useful for clarifying some of the problems of China.

To say that Professor Fairbank is influenced by this very important trend of thought in contemporary China is not to say that he identifies himself with it. He represents a slowly growing school of social scientists in this country—Americans who acknowledge the influence of Chinese social scientists who in turn acknowledge the influence of recent and contemporary thought in the United States and the countries of Western Europe.

Professor Fairbank throws light on the factors that must be studied in the formulation of policy. He recommends no hard and fast policy, recognizing that in a book published in a period of rapid change "concluding chapters on current problems . . . have to deal with the unsolved problems that the author knows least about." He has "no final answer," he frankly says, "on the question how closely the Chinese Communists will do Moscow's bidding." He does say that "the outcome of a social revolution among 450,000,000 people does not depend on us." He suspects that "the National Government and the Communists have each, for their own propaganda ends, magnified the importance of American activity in China. It is not within the power of the American people to bestow the Mandate of Heaven."

It is discouraging to think that in all the Congressional debate on policy in China Professor Fairbank and others like him among the younger American specialists on the history and problems of China have not been asked to testify.

OWEN LATTIMORE

Depression and New Deal

THE AGE OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION. By Dixon Wecter. The Macmillan Company. $5.

THAT artful dodger memory plays tricks with the moving finger, and accomplishes what piety, wit, and tears cannot. Personally we forget that we have been dull, dishonest, and foolish; and it is well that we do, for the sea of sanity is fed by the Lethean stream. But nationally, or on any level where failure is institutional as well as personal, such easy neglect is fatal. And it is the office of the historian to break the spell.

Professor Dixon Wecter in his history of the years 1929-41 has done his duty admirably, restoring to the national conciousness the unpleasant fact of depression. Indeed, he insists that the great depression continued all but unabated from the crash of bonds in 1929 to the crash of bombs in 1941. "The bank crisis of early March, 1929, may

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be regarded as the long-expected 'terminal trough' of the depression." In 1935 the Administration swung from a policy of recovery to a policy of reform, "as if Roosevelt believed recovery assured or thought it hopeless further to appease big business." But actually neither appeasement nor reform brought recovery. And not recovery but the New Deal, whether appeasement or reform, was the great fact, as it was the great phrase, of the depression period.

The New Deal, Wecter thinks, was an attitude rather than an "explicit program." It was a matter of attitude, for instance, that distinguished Mr. Roosevelt from Mr. Hoover, who, it is interesting to note, also wanted to plow under the poor little pigs. But attitudes, flimsy as they may seem, are more effective than programs, and the New Deal was no exception. What it brought about, in essence, was an extension of government action for the protection of economically weak individuals. Thus "the New Deal did more for the Negro than any other Administration since the Civil War." It placed labor relations on a contractual rather than an auctioneering basis. And it firmly established the principle of social security. Some phases of the New Deal, notably the NRA—which would have been abandoned without the court decision—and the early monetary policy, but not the Supreme Court proposals, Wecter regards as rash. But in summary he finds that "with all the New Deal's mistakes and shortcomings, its level of public trust remained singularly high and its leadership sincere."

Less obtrusive than the New Deal but equally consequential were other results of the depression. "In sport and amusement as in other aspects of life in America the hallmark of caste and the stamp of prerogative grew perceptibly dimmer." Sport, indeed, became recreation, physical relief, rather than a test of endurance and purchasing power. Leisure-class activities were made at once more available and less elaborate. Both amusement and communication tended to become pictorial. Tabloids, comics, and picture magazines mushroomed while serious reading fell off. Even purely literary artists, moreover, descended to a lower level of consciousness, for "literary folk discovered closer affinity with the muckrakers of the century's early years than with the debunkers of the twenties, whose behavioristic psychology had tended to return man to his animal origins and laugh at his consequent discomfiture." Further enhancing the everything-for-everyman movement was the advancing front of technological achievement. In spite of bad times new, cheaper, and better products in ever-growing numbers were placed on the market. Man grew weaker and produced less of his kind, but his best friend, the machine, kept up a steady, complacent hum.

Even from this telescoped synopsis it is apparent that Wecter's book is comprehensive, and that the author is a man of abundant common sense. The book is also well organized, authoritatively documented, and clearly if not brilliantly written. What it lacks is depth of historical perspective and philosophic insight. "The Great Depression" is too much a narrative and too little an inquiry. Professor Wecter makes almost no reference to constitutional issues; he fails to note the leveling tendencies of depression democracy; and somewhat too facilely he ascribes the depression to the stock-market crash. But on one point he is inspiringly firm. It was Adolf Hitler, not Franklin Roosevelt, war and not reform, chance and not plan, that ended the depression. "The New Deal did not, and apparently could not, solve the basic recovery problem." "The biggest problem of them all, unemployment, had not been mastered by the New Deal." Thus, in all candor, the specter of poverty still stalks the land. The ghost has not been laid. And Professor Wecter's book is a useful reminder that at the present moment depression, a part of the American past, is also inescapably a part of the American tradition—a black lie, not a little fib, in the promise of American life.

JOSEPH KRAFT

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Radio Defends Itself

TIME FOR REASON ABOUT RADIO. By Lyman Bryson. George W. Stewart. $2.

IT SEEMS that the front office at CBS got wind of the fact that a lot of people were reading the FCC's Blue Book, and were beginning to get the idea that broadcasters weren't giving the public enough service. Newspapers and magazines were printing things about radio that weren't in the network publicity releases, and customers were beginning to gripe. It finally reached the point where CBS President Paley was moved to complain over his network: "We have thought for a long time at CBS that the general public . . . does not really know very much about what we call the American system of broadcasting. This new series of talks on 'Time for Reason' is one of the things we are doing about it." And up to the microphone he trundled a nice fellow in a professor suit named Lyman Bryson. For twenty-seven weeks Dr. Bryson talked about radio—real frank and candid inside stuff, you understand—and never once did he use the words "soap opera." Lest posterity be cheated out of these penetrating insights they have now been bound into a book.

To be perfectly fair, Dr. Bryson did touch briefly on soap opera, but he called it by its right name, and it's high time you folks learned it: *the daytime serial*. He feels that this brilliantly written material is the great psychological tonic for American Womanhood and "is being developed into an art form not quite like anything else, having its own rules, its own kind of excellence, and its own place." Surely no one will quarrel with that.

Dr. Bryson was silent on the role of government in radio: he didn't think it necessary to tell his listeners how stations get their licenses, for how long, or under what conditions. This is particularly noteworthy because the talks were precipitated by a great deal of discussion of governmental action in the field. There are several strict taboos in radio broadcasting. One of them forbids any mention of the fact that radio stations are licensed for three years and that at the end of that period they must apply anew, on the same basis as any competing applicant, for their frequency. It goes without saying that giving a station's expiration date, explaining that stations pay no fee for their valuable franchise but do promise to serve the public, or letting out the fact that listeners can appear at a renewal hearing and tell how they like the station's service would be about as welcome on the air as a temperance lecture at an American Legion convention. Dr. Bryson, who has great skill and many years of radio experience, found it possible to cover his subject without violating any of the taboos. His record was almost spoiled through no fault of his own when one of his guests, Charles Siepmann, seemed to be on the verge of bringing up the FCC, license renewals, and all that sort of thing. Dr. Bryson was obviously embarrassed, but with a splutter of interruptions succeeded in steering Mr. Siepmann gently but firmly off the grass. In discussing the authority of the Federal Communications Commission Dr. Bryson decided to disregard the present law, which of course is utterly antiquated, and discuss instead some proposed streamlined legislation —it just happened to be lying around the studio because it was drafted downstairs in the legal department—which would have the great virtue of saving the government a lot of time and trouble through the simple expedient of giving the air away. True, this bill was never seriously considered by Congress, but why condemn a man who has the vision to be ahead of his time?

Dr. Bryson gave a great many financial statistics on radio's annual advertising billings, but he carefully omitted some that might be too complicated to grasp, such as the radio networks' percentage of return on invested capital. It came to almost 200 per cent last year in case you're interested, and it probably has no significance at all.

While Dr. Bryson's lectures try to be moderate and fair, they add up to a dull and uninformative presentation of a very exciting subject. If the realization had dawned over Madison Avenue that radio had become an issue worthy of public discussion, CBS could have invited a balanced group of defenders and opponents and let the fur fly. (This, of course, is no less than its duty.) But after twenty-seven weeks of talk the controversial issues raised by the FCC Blue Book remained unreported and undiscussed. Instead, the highly one-sided job that CBS has done on this subject is in itself proof that the Blue Book's criticism of radio's inadequate treatment of current problems is entirely justified.

JEROME H. SPINGARN

Essays of a Humanist

NO RETREAT FROM REASON. Essays on Art, Medicine, and Science. By Alfred E. Cohn. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

ALL THOSE who know Dr. Cohn—and judging by this book, that must be a great privilege—will find perfect harmony among the various essays in this volume, the unity of a firm, wise, richly informed, and smiling personality. The general reader will have to accept the collection as a Miscellany, a definition which implies no condemnation. The papers are of three types. Four are on strictly medical subjects. Without any truckling to cheap popularity, they are of such a general nature that they can be appreciated by the serious-minded layman. It is singularly interesting, for instance, to follow The Development of the Harveian Circulation, and to realize how long it took careful observers to see the plain facts, and cogent thinkers to interpret the facts correctly.

The second type—The Influence of Modern Science on Painting and Sculpture, The Difference between Art and Science in their Relation to Nature—is of particular interest to the literary mind. We are tempted to consider the arts as our personal domain and to warn all trespassers off the premises. Contributions like Dr. Cohn's will help us overcome our professional deformation. Perhaps it would not be amiss if laymen would write on medical subjects, from the often-neglected point of view of the patient.

The other essays offer a welcome blend of biography (John Wyckoff and Simon Flexner), autobiography, and philosophy (No Retreat from Reason, Apologia Mea). All show the formation of Dr. Cohn's mind. A true humanist, he notes gratefully the influence of his teachers in non-professional lines, Robinson in history, George Woodberry in literature, William Ivins, master of fearless critical analysis. Dr. Cohn's

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range is wide. In three lines he tells us: "Being ourselves part of nature, we have Brownian motion. But we have more too. And we are, in a way, Prometheans. We have what physical chemists call valences, and valences are not merely passive." All this will flatter, intrigue, and bewilder John Doe, who is blissfully unconscious of Brownian motion.

Dr. Cohn is right in claiming as his one dominant quality intellectual courage. Any "retreat from reason" is a craven capitulation. He has the courage to proclaim himself a perfectionist; "What is solved wrong, without due regard to fact or nature, is too quickly, too impermanently solved. I have not for myself had time for the 'good enough,' believing that the good enough cannot endure." That is exactly what I felt—and feel—about the San Francisco Charter. He has the courage to face the language problem, which scholars and gentlemen find it safer to eschew. "We shall find that multiplicity of languages has disadvantages. . . . We shall be confronted with the difficulty of learning how many languages we can or must do with, in One World."

He has the courage to challenge the theistic hypothesis. He has no use even for the "halfway station" of agnosticism. "But we do know that in any usual, conventional sense 'God' cannot be asserted to exist." If we refuse to meet that challenge, if we take refuge, like frightened infants, back at our mother's knee, there is a "retreat from reason," and we lose our essential dignity as men.

ALBERT GUERARD, SR.

Justice for Young People

LAWLESS YOUTH. By Margery Fry, M. Grünhut, Hermann Mannheim, Wanda Grabinska, and C. D. Rackham. The Macmillan Company. $3.

THIS excellent symposium was put together in England during the war. A preface credits its authors with the foresight of preparing for the partial reorganization of European systems of criminal justice—particularly as they affect juvenile courts and the detention and rehabilitation of youthful offenders. Thus they hoped to help "win back for society the children and young men and women whom war had made rebels and outlaws."

The volume emerged from a series of meetings, held between 1942 and 1945, of experts gathered from nearly all Europe by the International Committee of the Howard League for Penal Reform. Its contributors have synthesized their recommendations with such transcendent clarity and, on the whole, enlightened vision as to make them not only inestimably valuable to Europe but equally so to America.

If one interprets history accurately, nearly every enduring major reform—in the structure of social, economic, and political affairs—has required the existence of a climate of crisis. The shock value of crisis appears to be more productive than the measured tones of reason or logic. This is not as it should be, but the fact remains that almost the first upsweep of a tide of reaction produces a kind of disintegrating erosion in the form and substance of progressive thought; and progressive movements correspondingly suffer.

So it has been in criminology. Progress in this field has gone on with the slowness of a glacier but with none of its majesty. It remains to be seen whether the present succession of crises will bring about enduring reforms in the archaic systems of criminal justice which prevail throughout most of Europe. These systems tolerated Devil's Island, flogging, mutilation, exile, and many other futile and degrading punishments; some of them were imported into the American colonies in the seventeenth century and still survive.

It is difficult to appreciate the ramified effects of war upon crime prevention and criminal justice. Not only is the normal life of families and communities violently intruded upon, in occupied territories as well as in aggressor countries, but the administrative apparatus of criminal justice which people take for granted—the police, courts, and correctional institutions—becomes understaffed and under-serviced. Moreover, social-work facilities are so disorganized as to leave, perhaps permanently, the marks of psychological disfigurement on the peoples involved. To all of this is added the anxiety over the disproportionate increases in anti-social behavior in the civilian population stemming from personality patterns which are accentuated, if not actually induced, by the demands for the cultivation of interna-

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tional hatreds. The average youthful offender seems to progress, naturally from what is regarded as his peace-time role as an "enemy of society" to his war-time role as the *victim* of society.

If, then, the social crisis engendered by World War II was to end by scarring the survivors of one, possibly two, generations, some major alterations in criminological attitudes and procedures were at least as essential as the rebuilding of churches and houses. And it was against the backdrop of these by-products of war—with which politicians never reckon—that the committee worked to recast the European system of criminal justice, especially as it affected young people, with whom preventive and therapeutic experimentation is most fruitful.

To be sure, some European countries had for years been striving to liberalize the treatment of disturbed children. England itself had pioneered with the Borstals—institutions for young criminal offenders, with relatively small units allowing for the individualization of rehabilitative techniques. Even before the war Sweden had relied less on the device of juvenile courts than on the impressive Welfare Councils which had the power to decree far-reaching measures, such as sending a child to a foster family, to a boarding-school, or to an observation school. But even Sweden, enlightened as it undoubtedly is, relied from time to time upon the magic of corporal punishment. In Germany, before the war, juvenile courts were being established for the twelve-to-eighteens, a group which had hitherto been prosecuted in ordinary criminal courts. In Greece juvenile courts were created in 1940 for the first time, although a modernized system of justice remained a dead letter for lack of funds—and probably still does. France enjoys the distinction of being one of the first countries on the Continent to give legal recognition to the establishment of special treatment facilities for delinquent children.

If the recommendations set out in this volume were adopted, the structure of European criminal justice would be enormously improved. And some of them have special significance for America: (1) that criminal responsibility should attach no earlier than fourteen years; (2) that Children's Courts should have exclusive judicial competence for all minors up to twenty-one; (3) that those courts, as well as courts of appeal, be staffed with judges who possess the special qualifications of temperament, experience, and ability to understand young people; (4) that small correctional institutions and other extra-mural facilities replace large penal institutions; (5) that voluntary agencies, identified with child welfare on both preventive and correctional levels, be under public control; (6) that the facilities of the psychological disciplines, for both diagnostic and therapeutic purposes, be increasingly employed; and finally (7) that preventive services devote more attention to the discovery of predisposing causes and less to the superficial precipitating factors in crime.

This book deserves the respectful attention of every social-minded citizen.

EDWIN J. LUKAS

Films

JAMES AGEE

DEEP WATERS." A lobsterman (Dana Andrews) and a social worker (Jean Peters) languidly dispute the future of an orphan boy (Dean Stockwell) who loves the sea. Very mildly pleasant, with good Maine Coast backgrounds, unfortunately drenched in sepia.

"Dreams That Money Can Buy." A 16-mm. color movie made by Hans Richter, who made several avant-garde movies in Germany during the 1920's. Among the contributors are Max Ernst, Marcel Duchamps, Alexander Calder, John Latouche, Man Ray, Darius Milhaud, John Cage, Libby Holman, Josh White, Julien Levy. Some spirals by Duchamps are hypnotic and attractive until they go hot-colored and pretend to be eyes, googling desperately at a multiple image of a not-very nude descending a staircase. Julien Levy is well cast as a sort of middle-aged Julien Sorel. I rather liked the only music by John Cage that I've heard, to date, though it doesn't sound as original as often advertised; more like Japanese court music simplified for an appreciation class. There is a sleek, easy ballad about a girl with a prefabricated heart (a store-window dummy). Much of the verbiage is so pitched that you can hear it if you try, or take it as a sort of music if you prefer; I rather like this idea. There is a good, scary suggestion of an octopus, by Calder. Aside from these things the movie leaves me cold, and some of it leaves me worse than cold. It seems at once arch, snobbish, and sycophantic. It is about as genuinely "experimental" as a Chemcraft set, and not even its laziness is likable. In its own terms it is as formula-ridden as the worst junk peddled out of Hollywood, and I like it still less than factory junk because it pretends to be much more than it is. I imagine that those who made it excuse themselves a good deal on the ground that they were trying to popularize the idioms they are working in, as light entertainment. If so, they are excusing themselves too easily. A fair amount of the picture is more pleasant than average to see and hear, but against that one has to fight off the depression of watching some talented men, some sincere men of little or no talent, and some outrageous fakes and hangers-on overestimating their abilities, and underestimating their audience and the difficult, considerable art of really entertaining.

"Easter Parade." Fred Astaire, Judy Garland, Ann Miller, and several of Irving Berlin's old songs ought to add up to something better than this; but much of it is painless and some of it —chiefly Astaire—is pretty good.

"The Emperor Waltz." Bing Crosby, a Yankee drummer, loves Joan Fontaine, a Viennese countess. Crosby's dog, a fox terrier, loves Fontaine's dog, a poodle. The Emperor Franz Josef himself at length declares that Americans are not merely just as good as Austrocrats but better. That goes for their dogs too. At its best this semi-musical is amusing and well shaped, because Charles Brackett and Billy Wilder have learned a fair amount from the comedies of Ernst Lubitsch. In general it is reasonably good fun. At its worst it yaps and embraces every unguarded leg in sight.

"Escape." John Galsworthy's play about a convict (Rex Harrison) who prefers freedom to security, rather nicely done by an American company in England. Apparently people a few

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years younger than I am are puzzled by the hero's preference. Considering the world they grew up watching, I don't wonder. But I can't help feeling it is their loss, and the world's, and about as grave a one as I can imagine.

"Fighting Father Dunne." A dreary, hully-chee sort of piece about a St. Louis priest who builds a home for derelict newsboys. Pat O'Brien, an assortment of tiresome hellions, a good bit by Joseph Sawyer, and some better than average sets by RKO's Darrell Silvera and Company.

"A Foreign Affair." Brackett and Wilder again, this time in American Berlin. A visiting Congresswoman (Jean Arthur), an ex-girl friend of a ranking Nazi (Marlene Dietrich), an American soldier (John Lund). Some sharp, nasty, funny stuff at the expense of investigatory Americans; then—as in "The Emperor Waltz"—the picture indorses everything it has been kidding, and worse. A good bit of it is in rotten taste, and the perfection of that is in Dietrich's song "Black Market."

"Fort Apache." American soldiers and Indians shortly after the Civil War. Shirley Temple and her husband, John Agar, handle the love interest as if they were sharing a soda-fountain special, and there is enough Irish comedy to make me wish Cromwell had done a more thorough job. All this is entirely appropriate to the story, which is the kind that *would* have a heroine named Philadelphia Thursday. However, John Ford directed it, and the Indian parleys and fights and a good deal of the camera work which sneaks by as incidental are somewhere near worth enduring the rest for. Henry Fonda does well, if thinly, as a megalomaniacal martinet.

"Give My Regards to Broadway." Vaudeville is dead; I wish to God someone would bury it.

CORRECTIONS. In the issue of June 19 I wrote, "Carl Dreyer's 'Day of Wrath' is now at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse." It had been expected to open by that date. I now hear (July 13) that it is "definitely set for Friday, July 16"; same theater. I recommend it highly.

In the issue of July 3 I suggested that those interested in the movie subscription society Cinema 16 write the secretary, Alex Vogel, 59 Park Avenue. The name is Amos. I hereby apologize to Mr. Vogel and to you; and sadly join company with an aunt of mine who used to refer to Sacco and Vanetsi, and with all those who call me Aggie, Ad' ji, Adjee', Uhjee', and Eigh' ggeee'.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

COLUMBIA has issued Charles Ives's "Concord" Sonata for piano—its four movements entitled "Emerson," "Hawthorne," "The Alcotts," and "Thoreau"—played by John Kirkpatrick (Set 749, $7.25). Lawrence Gilman considered the work "deeply and essentially American in impulse and implication"; and Virgil Thomson thinks "Americans should have no serious difficulty accepting its subject-matter or understanding its ingenuous grandeurs"; but my own experience confirms neither of these opinions. I would say that Ives's music represents not his nationality but his personality and mind, which are those of an extreme eccentric and express themselves, not unnaturally, in terms the ordinary mind finds it difficult to make sense of.

My mind, for one, finds nothing in the first movement—outside of its extravagant wildness—that is related to Ives's prefatory remarks: "It has seemed to the writer that Emerson is greater—his identity more complete perhaps—in the realms of revelation—natural disclosure—than in those of poetry, philosophy, or prophecy. . . . We see him standing on a summit, at the door of the infinite where many men do not dare to climb, peering into the mysteries of life, contemplating the eternities, hurling back whatever he discovers there—now thunderbolts for us to grasp, if we can, and translate—now placing quietly, even tenderly, in our hands things that we may see without effort—if we won't see them, so much the worse for us." Neither does my mind find in the music any sense of its own that makes listening to it a moving or interesting or in any other way valuable experience. Nor are such experiences provided by the succeeding movements which do have an illustrative

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relation to some—but not all—of Ives's words: to the words about "Hawthorne's wilder, fantastical adventures into the half-childlike, half-fairylike phantasmal realms," but not the ones about the place "all pervaded with the trials and happiness of the [Alcott] family and telling, in a simple way, the story of the richness of not having."

From Musicraft comes a recording of Bach's Concerto in C for 3 claviers and strings played by the Manuel and Williamson Harpsichord Ensemble (Set 50, $4.05). I have the impression that when I heard this work played many years ago—first by Gabrilowitsch, Bauer, and Samaroff, later by Schnabel, Maier, and Patterson, and by other groups of pianists still later—I found it to be one of the more engaging of Bach's concertos for solo instruments (most of which—with the exception of the great D minor for clavier or violin and the fine D minor for two violins—I find to be mouthfuls of straw). And if that impression is not confirmed now it may be because of the heavily plodding and musically insensitive performance on these records. It is reproduced with clarity; but surfaces are noisy.

And from Decca a group of performances by Beatrice Lillie (Set A-633, $3.15), who manages to be funny even in songs as poor as "Clop! Clip! Clop!" and "Honey Ma Love" (24393), but is funnier in better songs like "Lady Windermere's Fan" and "The Yodeling Goldfish" (24392), and even funnier in "Oh For a Night in the Ballroom" and a burlesque torch-song "Wind 'Round My Heart" (24394).

CONTRIBUTORS

OWEN LATTIMORE lived in China many years; in 1941-42 he was political adviser to Chiang Kai-shek. His latest book is "Solution in Asia."

JOSEPH KRAFT is a history fellow at Princeton University.

JEROME H. SPINGARN is a lawyer who has written extensively about radio.

ALBERT GUERARD, SR., has just published his autobiography, "Personal Equation."

EDWIN J. LUKAS is the executive director of the Society for the Prevention of Crime.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

The Banning Has Injured the Church

Dear Sirs: I do not by any means agree with Paul Blanshard in all details, though I do believe he focused the spotlight upon a very crucial problem—namely, the relations between the Roman Catholic church and American democracy. Mr. Blanshard expressed his own views, to which he is entitled as is every other American citizen. . . . Simply because I believe that the Roman Catholic church has *exactly the same rights* to the enjoyment of American civil liberties as every other American citizen or group of citizens, I deplore deeply the action of the New York City Board of Superintendents.

To my way of thinking, two issues are involved. The first is the validity of what I think is the most basic of all American institutions—the right of free speech and free press. . . . Citizens and public officials have a primary obligation to uphold the right of free speech and free press, and this is particularly true of public-school officials. It is in our actual practice of this democratic principle that we are true or false, and it is not enough merely to be able to point to decisions of the Supreme Court as declarations of our faith.

The second issue involved seems to me to be the harm done to the Roman Catholic church by the Superintendents' decision. If I were myself a Roman Catholic, I should feel that my church had been done very great damage, since the action implies, first, that the church is not strong enough to stand scrutiny and criticism, and, secondly, that the church itself desires and demands this infringement upon American civil liberties. The Catholic church in the United States is far too strong and too prosperous to need protection by this kind of ban. Furthermore, the ban is really no protection whatever, because the very act of banning *The Nation* because of Paul Blanshard's articles calls the attention even of school children to the articles. Hence the action can have only the real effect of arousing ten times as much interest in the articles as they would otherwise have received. It is not the reading of the articles by school children or by anyone else, however, which will do the greatest amount of harm to the Roman Catholic church. It is the implication that the church itself demanded this encroachment upon civil liberties. It is precisely such mistaken "favors" to the church which raises a supposition in the minds of many people that the church is a danger. The Board of Superintendents has therefore, in my opinion, done the Roman Catholic church a very great injustice. . . .

I sincerely hope that the board will revoke its action and readmit *The Nation* to the pubic schools of New York City. Educators ought to know better than anyone else that it is impossible to "protect" the minds of little children, let alone those of the many parents who are disturbed by such an issue as this, and that no issue can be settled except by completely free access to information and free opportunity for discussion. If the libraries of the public schools of New York City are worth using, they certainly contain classical writings just as severely critical of the Roman Catholic church as anything written by Paul Blanshard. Similarly, they contain writings defending the Catholic church and attacking others. If the Board of Superintendents is going to begin a book purge, it has nowhere to stop until it has eliminated the libraries, where all manner of things are controversial.

BRYN J. HOVDE

New York, July 13

Paul Blanshard Replies to Robert Fitzgerald

Dear Sirs: The courteous tone of Robert Fitzgerald in his article in last week's *Nation* was welcome relief after the diatribes in the Catholic and the Hearst press.

The Nation is not the most appropriate place in the world to discuss pure theology. In my articles I tried instead to emphasize the social effects of Catholic policy in the fields of politics, medicine, the family, welfare, education, and science. Most of Mr. Fitzgerald's points are quite irrelevant to that discussion. He talks about the authority of the priests; I talked about their wisdom. He will not permit me to be non-theological in my reply because his defense is primarily denominational and sacerdotal. He appealed to "the authority of Christ, in whose name the priest speaks."

But *does* the priest speak in the name of Christ when he forbids contraception, attacks the public school, condones

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fascist dictatorships, forbids abortion even when a mother's life is at stake, and denies Catholics the right to read both sides of religious controversies? The obvious answer is no; and the burden of proof is on the Roman Catholic who claims that he is speaking for Jesus Christ. Let him support his claim with proof. The overwhelming majority of Christians in the United States, including many liberal Catholics, think that the policies I have criticized are not fundamentally Christian but Roman, and that they have been manufactured by the church to maintain its power.

In the whole range of the recorded teachings of Jesus you cannot find a single sentence that supports the reactionary social doctrines of the Catholic hierarchy which I have attacked. Even the basic claim of the popes that Jesus passed his divine authority down to the present, exclusive, absolute monarchy in Rome has no biblical authority except one ambiguous, and possibly spurious, passage in Matthew* which has been twisted and inflated in Catholic exegesis beyond all recognition.

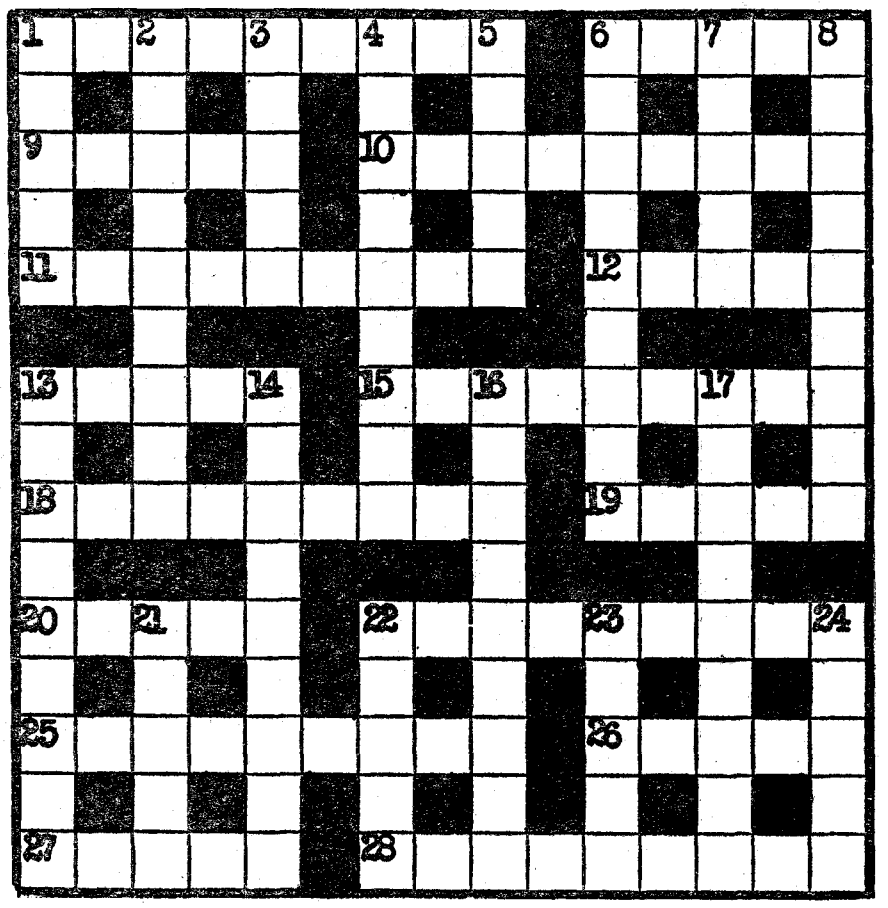
I respect Mr. Fitzgerald's loyalty to his faith, but I object to his claim that his church's social policies have a necessary connection with Christianity. Mr. Fitzgerald says that I cannot "show, in the moral theology of the church, one item inconsistent with the principles of its founder." All the political, medical, and cultural policies of the Catholic hierarchy which I questioned in my articles are demonstrably inconsistent with the teachings of Jesus. He never approved them or uttered them. I speak dogmatically on this subject for brevity's sake, but it should be remembered that in this whole controversy no Catholic dialectician has been able to produce one quotation from the founder of Christianity which is directly in point in support of the hierarchy's narrow doctrines in the field of medicine, education, politics, and science.

To me the most amazing thing in this debate has been the revelation that a large proportion of American Catholics do not know the doctrines of their own church. It is amazing and, in a sense, hopeful; for many Catholics would doubtless repudiate the reactionary social policies of their own hierarchy if they did understand the doctrines which support them. (One evidence of the drift of Catholic

* "And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (Matt. 16:18).

Crossword Puzzle No. 272

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 6. Feeling poorly after eating duck, perhaps. (4, 2, 3, 5)
9 A cubicle I found in the music room. (5)
10 The place where little Albert seems to be in another country entirely. (9)
11 Pharmaceutical resumes? (9)
12 How the band gets all together. (5)
13 Blonde, sometimes short. (5)
15 This probably includes us both. (3, 6)
18 Does it show the reaction of the Chem prof to our lack of knowledge? (9) (hyphenated)
19 When from "Alaska," it's probably a skunk. (5)
20 Fine, unless you do it to a library book. (5)
22 His love was ivory. (9)
25 A common source of supply for *pate de foie gras?* (9)
26 In general, the South might boast of him. (5)
27 Wipers, according to the doughboy. (5)
28 Do it through a chopper to make it. (9)

DOWN

1 Is the minister ice-bound? No, quite the contrary! (5)
2 and 24 Time of night on Bald Mountain. (9, 5)
3 Here in France, it leads to no good. (5)
4 What one must do when things go from line to line. (9)
5 Sees a way of making it, and carefully does so. (5)
6 Long ways to go for a sort of Roman's hat. (9)
7 Around 50, one is never fired. (5)
8 This layer is cause for reflection. (9)
13 Might take place in the last quarter if you're not too far behind? (9)
14 In the government do they crawl about in the red? (9)
16 Not even a guerrilla is this. (9)
17 It's not exactly clear, but I suppose it's to help make things run smoothly. (9)
21 Two of these for fairy-land. (5)
22 200 is pure. (5)
23 How the "Pirates" heroine changes to take her stroll. (5)
24 See 2.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 271

ACROSS:—1 THIRTY DAYS HATH SEPTEMBER, APRIL, JUNE, AND NOVEMBER; 9 RAIDING; 10 LAPWING; 11 NETTED; 14 CORSAIR; 15 STEWS; 19 KICKERS; 21 JUVENILE; 23 GRILLE; 26 LION CUB; 27 CAVALRY OFFICER.

DOWN:—1 TARANTULA; 2 IDIOTIC; 3 TRIHEDRAL; 4 DIGS; 5 YELLOW RACE; 6 HOPPE; 7 THIMBLE; 8 AGAR; 13 BACKSLIDER; 15 SWEARS OFF; 18 RAVENNA; 20 SILICIC; 21 JUJU; 22 NYASA; 24 ALTO.

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opinion was the birth-control poll in the July *Woman's Home Companion*, in which four-fifths of the Catholic women favored some kind of birth-control information.)

I could cite many illustrations of Catholic ignorance of Catholic doctrine, but one will suffice. When I said in the New York *Times* of June 27 that "the Catholic hierarchy teaches in its canon law that it is a sin for a Catholic to marry a Protestant or Jew, and that it is also a sin for an American Catholic child to attend an American public school when a parochial school is available," I received patronizing letters from Catholics telling me that I was mistaken.

Now, the Roman Catholic position on these two matters can be verified in any good book on canon law. Canon 1060, as printed on page 458 of Bouscaren and Ellis's "Canon Law," reads:

> The church everywhere most severely forbids the contracting of marriage between two baptized persons if one is a Catholic whereas the other is a member of a heretical or schismatical sect; and if there is danger of perversion for the Catholic party and the children, the marriage is forbidden also by divine law itself.

This covers Protestants (heretics) and Greek Catholics (schismatics). Canon 1064 says that "Ordinaries and other pastors of souls must deter the faithful from mixed marriages to the best of their power." If a Catholic insists on marrying a Protestant or Greek Catholic, he cannot, according to canons 1102 and 1109 be married in the church or receive the nuptial mass.

Marriage with a Jew is more serious, and without special dispensation it is absolutely "nul" under Canon 1070," since "disparity of cult" is "an annulling impediment."

As to public schools, Bouscaren and Ellis in summarizing Canon 1374 say, page 704:

> Catholic children may not attend non-Catholic, neutral, or mixed schools, that is, those which are open also to non-Catholics, and it pertains exclusively to the Ordinary of the place to decide, in accordance with instructions of the Holy See, under what circumstances and with what precautions against the danger of perversion, attendance at such schools may be tolerated. Neutral schools are those which exclude religion by prescinding from it, such as the public schools in the United States. . . . This is a strict canonical requirement for elementary and high schools.

I should like to take this opportunity to thank the numberless correspondents who have poured mail upon me since my articles began last November. It has been physically impossible to acknowledge all the kind and encouraging letters, or even to answer all the requests for further details. I am especially grateful to those who have sent in useful supplementary material. Those correspondents who have asked for further documentation of certain points will find it in my forthcoming book, to be published by the Beacon Press, Boston, which will incorporate the material in the *Nation* articles together with a discussion of many phases of the problem not touched upon there.

PAUL BLANSHARD

Thetford Center, Vt., July 17

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